



# LIFE OF NAPOLEON



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LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS  
OF  
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE:

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF  
ALL HIS ENGAGEMENTS,  
FROM THE  
SIEGE OF TOULON TO THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO:

ALSO,  
EMBRACING ACCOUNTS OF THE DARING EXPLOITS OF HIS MARSHALS,  
TOGETHER WITH HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE, FROM THE  
COMMENCEMENT OF HIS CAREER TO HIS FINAL IM-  
PRISONMENT AND DEATH ON THE ROCK  
OF ST. HELENA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF  
M. A. ARNAULT AND C. L. F. PANCKOUCKE.

NEW EDITION, ILLUSTRATED.

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## PREFACE

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IN ushering these Memoirs of the Life of Napoleon Bonaparte into the world, we have not confined ourselves to the splendid work of M. V. Arnault but, in order to furnish a faithful narrative, public and private, have availed ourselves of every species of information afforded by different authorities, from the commencement of the career of the departed hero, to the closing scene of his last hours at St. Helena.

It is an undoubted fact, that the greatest light has been thrown upon the character and conduct of this extraordinary personage, subsequent to his exile to St. Helena in 1815; and the communications since made by his faithful attendants, and various generals, in France and elsewhere, have now received the stamp of unquestionable authority.

Acting upon the maxim that requires the *hearing of both parties*, and considering that public opinion, in this country, respecting the character and actions of Napoleon, has been formed chiefly from the perusal of the writings of Englishmen, we have preferred the translation of these Memoirs from several French authors of eminence, to any others. To avoid the imperfections inseparable from hasty productions, which have been promoted by the avidity of the public for every thing relative to Napoleon, we have waited for the assistance of all the most valuable publications on the continent, especially *Victoires, Conquêtes, Desastres, Revers et Guerres Civiles des Français*, de 1792, a 1815; par Une Société des Militaires et de Gens de Lettres Paris, C. L. F. Panckoucke. Editeur

To this work, consisting of twenty-six octavo volumes, a number of French generals and superior officers have actually contributed; and the editor may justly boast of "*actions of éclat*, remarkable and curious facts, traits of bravery and generosity *les mots heureux des chefs et soldats*; the history of each regiment, and, in fact, of every thing honourable to the French in all parts of the world where they have fought."

We trust that the object of our undertaking to furnish a correct view of the life of Napoleon, public, political, and private, has been obtained to the utmost extent of the limits prescribed; and that the *Citizen*, the *Soldier*, and the *Man*, have been faithfully exhibited. Napoleon, if not great in his beginning, was great in his career—great in his fall but never so great as his patience and magnanimity have shown him in his captivity. "It was during the years of a dreary and hopeless exile, that his mind, whose element was action, whose health depended on incessant and boundless exertion, left to prey upon, and eat into itself, at length seemed to rekindle: hence it was fortunate that the impetus and exuberance of his ideas forced him to have recourse to the dictation of his Memoirs; for, in this manner, his statements came warm and fresh from his powerful and original mind, stamped with the innate freedom, boldness, and energy of his character, and utterly divested of any symptom of painful and anxious elaboration. To the future historian, their value will be incalculable: with regard to the Memoirs themselves, no history can ever supersede them."

The facts herein recorded need not the brilliant fancy of the poet, nor the artful skill of the rhetorician, to render them interesting. The simple detail, and the narrative unadorned, are quite sufficient to engage the attention of the reader through a series of events, that are without a parallel in the annals of the world.

# MEMOIRS

OF

## NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

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### CHAPTER I.

*The Family of the Bonapartes, and their Situation in Corsica—Cardinal Fesch—Madame Bonaparte—Birth of Napoleon—He enters the School of Brienne—His Acquirements—Pichegru—Ridiculous Tales and Anecdotes of Napoleon in his Youth—His Retreat at Brienne—A severe Disciplinarian—His Partiality for heroic Games—Fortress of Snow, attacked and defended with Snow-balls—A regiment formed of Flint-stones—Anecdotes—Narrowly escapes drowning—Anecdote—Admitted into the Artillery—Mesdames Colombier—General Paoli—Bonaparte appointed Commandant of the National Guard in Corsica—Commands an unsuccessful Expedition against Cagliari—Makes a fruitless Attack upon Ajaccio—Is banished from Corsica, and embarks with his Family for France.*

CHARLES BONAPARTE, the father of Napoleon, was a Corsican of a noble family, as well as his spouse, a woman of remarkable beauty and sound judgment. He was at first intended for the law, and had cultivated his mind by studies adapted to his future profession. But, called upon by the danger of his country, he quitted the long robe for the sword, and distinguished himself under Paschal Paoli.

Charles Bonaparte remained in Corsica, and conciliated the esteem of the French and the affection of his compatriots, by the good qualities he possessed

ed. In 1776, Corsica having sent a deputation to the king of France, selected from the three orders of the states, Charles Bonaparte appeared at Versailles as deputy from the *noblesse*. A short time after, he was nominated judge and assessor of the tribunal of Ajaccio, and he thus re-entered the career for which he was originally intended. He was tall, handsome, and well made. Educated at Rome and Pisa, it was at the latter place he studied the law. He died at the age of thirty-eight, of an habitual induration of the heart. He had experienced a temporary relief during one of his visits to Montpellier, and was interred in one of the convents there.

Charles Bonaparte married Mademoiselle Letitia Ramolini, whose mother, after the death of her first husband, married Captain Fesch, an officer in one of the Swiss regiments which the Genoese usually maintained in the island. Cardinal Fesch was the issue of the second marriage, and was consequently step-brother to Madame Bonaparte.

Whilst the war was carried on by the Corsicans against the French, Madame Bonaparte shared the fatigues and dangers of her husband, who was an enthusiast in the cause of his country. In his different expeditions she frequently followed him on horseback, whilst she was pregnant with Napoleon. She possessed extraordinary vigour of mind, joined to considerable pride and loftiness of spirit. She was the mother of thirteen children, though a widow at the age of thirty. Of these only five boys and three girls lived, all of whom became conspicuous characters during the reign of Napoleon.

In 1767, when the Corsicans took up arms to resist the subjugation of their country to the yoke of

France, who had purchased the island of its old masters the Genoese, the father of Napoleon first quitted the gown for the sword, and under General Paoli, who was godfather to his eldest son Joseph, fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, for the liberties of his country.

While this contest continued, Madame Bonaparte the mother of Napoleon, was constantly flying from town to town, and from village to village, to avoid the French, dreading nothing so much as falling into their hands. After repeated changes of place, she was delivered of Napoleon, her second son, two months after the Corsicans had given up the struggle. Pius VII. was excessively struck with the circumstance, when it was related to him in the year 1801, by the French ambassador.

This distinguished and interesting member of the Bonaparte family, their late venerable mother, retained till her death great remains of beauty, and was as dignified in adversity as she was moderate in prosperity. Her thoughts and feelings for the last few years of her life had but one sole object—the prisoner of St. Helena, whose pride she reproved in the days of his glory; whose fall she lamented, more as the child of her affections, than as the sovereign of a mighty empire.

This remarkable woman paid the debt of nature at Marseilles in the decline of the year 1822. The evening preceding her death, she called together all her household. She was supported on white velvet pillows; her bed was a crimson damask, and in the centre hung a crown decorated with flowers. The whole of the apartment was lighted in grand style. She called her servants one after another to her bed-side, where they knelt, and kissed her

extended hand, which was shrivelled, and covered with a profusion of rings. To the chief director of her finances, Juan Barosa, she said, "Juan, my blessing go with thee and thine."—To Maria Belgrade her waiting-woman, she said, "Go to Jerome; he will take care of thee. When my grandson is emperor of France he will make thee a great woman."—She then called Colonel Darley to her bed-side. he had attended her in all her fortunes, and in Napoleon's will, he had assigned him a donation of 14,000*l.*—"You," said she, "have been a good friend to me and my family. I have left you what will make you happy. Never forget my grandson, and what he and you may arrive at, is beyond my discerning; but you will both be great."—She then called in all her junior servants, and with a pencil, as their names were called, marked down a sum of money to be given to each. They were then dismissed, and she declared she had done with the world, and requested water. She washed her hands, and lay down upon her pillow. Her attendants found her dead, with her hand under her head, and a prayer-book upon her breast. Her chief heir is her grandson, who, it is said, will ultimately receive an immense fortune. To her seven children, still living, namely, Joseph Bonaparte, Lucien, Louis, Jerome, Eliza, Pauline, and Caroline, and to Hortensia, daughter of Josephine, she bequeathed to each and every one of them the sum of 150,000 scudi, 37,000*l.* sterling, making in the whole 300,000*l.* And to her brother, Cardinal Fesch she left a superb palace, filled with the most splendid furniture and varieties of every description.

Joseph Napoleon, grand electeur, the eldest of his family, was originally intended for the church

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on account of the influence possessed by that friend of the family, Marbeuf, archbishop of Lyons. He went through the regular course of study; but when the moment arrived for his taking orders, he refused to embrace the ecclesiastical profession. He became successively king of Naples and of Spain, but is now a citizen of the United States. He married Miss Julia Clary, who resides at Brussels as Countess of Survilier.

The other brothers of Napoleon were Louis, Lucien, and Jerome. The first was distinguished as grand constable of France, and afterwards king of Holland. Since the restoration of the Bourbons, he has assumed the title of Count St. Leu.

Lucien has now a princely residence at Rome, to the vicinity of which he has been in a measure confined ever since his brother's abdication, subsequent to the battle of Waterloo.

Jerome Bonaparte, the youngest brother, was made king of Westphalia in 1807, and in the same year married to Catherine, daughter of the king of Wirtemberg by his first wife, Caroline of Brunswick.

Maria Annunciade Carolina, youngest sister to Napoleon, born March 25, 1788, married Prince Murat, afterwards king of Naples.

Maria Anna Eliza, another sister, became great dutchess of Tuscany, princess of Lucca and Piombino. She is since deceased.

Maria Paulina, a third sister, was married to the Prince Borghese, duke of Guastalla.

Napoleon was born about noon on the 15th of August, on the day of Assumption in the year 1769, or, as some have asserted, in 1768. His mother who was possessed of great bodily energy, wished

to attend mass, on account of the solemnity of the day, and, being taken ill at church, was delivered on her return home before she could be conveyed to her chamber. The child, as soon as it was born was laid on the carpet, an old fashioned article representing at full length the heroes of fable—this child was Napoleon.

Napolion, or Napoleon, as before observed, was the second son of Charles Bonaparte and of Madame Letitia Ramolini, from whose marriage sprang eight children, who, two excepted, have sat upon thrones. One of these exceptions was Lucien, who, to the pleasure of being a king, preferred setting himself in opposition to the soldier who made kings.

As it may readily be conceived, Napoleon in his early youth was adroit, lively, and agile in the extreme. He had gained, it is said, the most complete ascendancy over his brother Joseph, who was often beaten and ill-treated; if complaints were carried to the mother, she usually took the part of Napoleon, and would seldom allow Joseph to speak in his own defence.

The French government, regarding education as one of the most efficacious means of modifying the national character, and of attaching the rising generation to the interests of France, having decided that a certain number of young Corsicans, belonging to families who had the greatest influence, should be educated in the French schools, Napoleon entered as a king's scholar in the military school of Brienne, under the monks who then superintended even those establishments. His name, which in his Corsican accent he pronounced as if written *Napoilloné*, from the similarity of the sound, procured for him, among his youthful companions, the nick



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name of *la paille au nez*, viz. straw in his nose. In 1783, Napoleon was one of the scholars who, at the annual competition at Brienne, were selected to be sent to the military school at Paris, to finish their education. M. Keralio, the inspector, was particularly attached to young Napoleon. He was fond of the boys in general; played with them when they had finished their examinations, and permitted those who had acquitted themselves most to his satisfaction to dine with him. Bonaparte was singled out by him to be sent to Paris, though he had not quite attained the requisite age. Upon its being suggested to him to wait till the following year, and give his pupil more time for improvement, he replied, "I know what I am about; and if I am transgressing the rules, it is not on account of family influence. I know nothing of the friends of this youth. I am actuated only by my own opinion of his merit: I perceive in him a spark of genius which cannot be too early fostered."

M. Keralio died before he could carry this resolution into effect; however, M. de Regnaud, his successor, the next year fulfilled his intentions, and young Napoleon was sent to Paris. The following document, which has been incorrectly given in different publications, is here inserted verbatim, as taken from the register of the *Ecole Militaire de Brienne*, for the year 1784, the copy of which was purchased by Louis Bonaparte for a considerable sum. It may be necessary to state, that two students of the college of Brienne were annually chosen as fit persons to be sent to the *Ecole Militaire* of Paris, and that the above year was that in which Napoleon Bonaparte and Monsieur de Castres were so selected. The following is the trans-

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lation of the certificate which the former carried with him:—

*Description of the King's Students, capable, from their age, of entering the Service, or of passing to the Military School of Paris ; namely,*

M. de Bonaparte (Napoleon) born the 15th. of August, 1764. Height, 4 feet, 10 inches, 10 lines has finished his fourth degree.

Of good constitution, excellent health, a character docile, frank, and grateful ; of very regular habits ; has always distinguished himself by his application to mathematics : he is pretty conversant with history and geography ; rather deficient in polite accomplishments, as well as Latin ; having only finished his fourth class. He will prove an excellent marine.

Deserves to pass to the School at Paris.

As a proof of the susceptibility of his temper, it is related, that one day the quarter-master, a man of harsh disposition, condemned Napoleon, by way of punishment, to wear the serge coat, and to take his dinner on his knees at the door of the refectory. The mortification felt by the disgraced pupil on this account was so great as to subject him to a violent retching and a severe nervous attack, when the head-master of the school, happening to pass accidentally, relieved him from the punishment, and re-proved the quarter-master for his want of discernment. Father Patrault also, the professor of mathematics, was much offended on finding that his first mathematician had been treated with such marked contempt.

Napoleon, however, confessed, "that, on attaining the age of puberty, his temper actually became morose and reserved; his passion for reading was carried to excess, and he eagerly devoured the contents of every book that fell in his way." Whilst Napoleon was at this school, Pichegru was his quarter-master, and his tutor in the four rules of arithmetic. Napoleon retained but a faint idea of Pichegru; he remembered that he was a tall man, rather red in the face. Pichegru, on the contrary, preserved a distinct remembrance of young Napoleon; and, when this general joined the royalist party, he was asked whether it would not be possible to gain over the general of the army of Italy. "To attempt that," said he, "would only be wasting time: from my knowledge of him when a boy, I am sure he must be a most inflexible character; he has taken his resolutions, and he will not change them."

The emperor, during his exile, was often amused by the ridiculous tales and anecdotes that are related of his boyhood in the numerous little publications which he had happened to peruse. But one, relative to his *confirmation* at the military school, he allowed to be genuine. It is as follows:—The archbishop who confirmed him, manifesting his astonishment at the name of Napoleon, said he did not know of any such saint, and that there was no such name in the calendar; the boy quickly replied, "That could be no rule, since there were an immense number of saints, and only 365 days."

A similar instance of his promptitude of reply was displayed on another occasion, during his residence at this school: as he was one day undergoing an examination by a general officer, Napoleon answered all the questions proposed with

much precision, accompanied by such a depth of penetration, that the general, the professors, and the students, were completely astonished. At length, in order to bring the interrogatories to a close, the following question was proposed to the youth:—"What line of conduct would you adopt in case you were besieged in a fortified place, and was destitute of provisions?"—"So long as there were any in the camp of the enemy, I should never be at a great loss for a supply," was the answer, without the smallest hesitation. These emphatic words seemed the prognostic of his future fortunes.

Napoleon from his infancy was generally inclined to be serious and thoughtful, with no small anxiety after knowledge, though the study of the ancient languages had always less attraction for him than history or the mathematics. But, finding few characters similar to his own, his intimates were of course not numerous; but it would be false to insinuate that he had no friends. Some of his earliest connexions of amity originated in this school. M. Fauvelet de Bourriene was among these, and always attached himself to the fortunes of Napoleon in Italy, in Egypt, and in France, when, under the title of consul, he took possession of the government.

Few of the pupils at Brienne were admitted into the retreat that Napoleon had formed for himself, upon the ground that was assigned to him to cultivate or break up at his pleasure. While he was a pupil here, at least out of school hours, though in the midst of about 150 scholars, he lived nearly sequestered, and never participated in their amusements. Upon the ground assigned to him in the garden he chose his place of retreat, and fortified

the entrance with palisadoes, &c. against all intruders. Within this intrenchment he admitted none but his favourite few. He was already a severe disciplinarian,—a premature virtue in this place,—which more than once exposed him to the resentment of his comrades. They had nominated him their officer, and they were surprised that he should treat them as privates. Napoleon, in the room of childish amusements, substituted the representation of heroic achievements. In the court allotted to the boys for their recreation, he sometimes formed a circus for gladiators; sometimes an arena for the Olympic games. These heroic games being at one period suspended, this Achilles retired into his tent; but there he could not rest long; not waiting even for spring, he left his quarters in the depth of winter. There had been a heavy fall of snow: the boys amused themselves by forming it into heaps. The young general, however, contrived to turn this fall of snow to his advantage, and, with equal accuracy and skill, raised a number of redoubts and retrenchments in the manner of Vauban: he thus formed the first citadel, before which he displayed that genius that was afterwards to open to him the gates of Toulon and Mantua. With bullets of snow he defended that place against the attacks made with others of the same kind. This campaign, however, was soon finished by a thaw.

Still every season afforded convenience for some military game or other. For him each was made to produce arms, and sometimes soldiers. It was not merely with pieces of ivory or lead, that this young tactician composed his army: for want of better, he had at one period got a regiment of flints

These, being once formed into a line, he would have respected as real soldiers. One of his comrades, who either wantonly or maliciously happened to disarrange his order of battle, had occasion to repent of it, and carried the mark of the chastisement which he drew upon himself by this imprudence all the rest of his days. Still this mark proved useful to him when Bonaparte, many years after, had risen to his highest elevation. It was then announced to him, that one of his former school-fellows wished to be introduced. Napoleon had no recollection of his name: "Ask him," said he, "if he knows of any thing particular that may assist me in recollecting him."—"Sire, he has a very deep scar on his forehead; and he says you ought to recollect what passed between you and him when that was made."—"He is in the right," said the emperor: "I know how that mark was made. I threw a general at his head. Let him come in."

One day, when Napoleon was speaking of Turenne with considerable warmth, a lady observed, "he was a great man, but I should have liked him better if he had not ravaged the Palatinate."—"What does that signify," replied the young officer, briskly, "*if this burning was necessary to his views?*"

It seems evident that the parents of Napoleon had rested their principal hopes on him from his earliest childhood. His father, when dying at Montpellier, though Joseph was with him, spoke only of Napoleon, who was then at the military school. In the delirium which seized him in his last moments, he incessantly called Napoleon to come to his aid with his *great sword*. The grand uncle, Lucien, who on his death-bed was surrounded by all his relatives, said, addressing himself to Joseph, "You

are the eldest of the family ; but there is the *head* of it (pointing to Napoleon)—never lose sight of him." The emperor used to laugh, and say, " This was a true disinheritance ; it was the scene of Jacob and Esau."

Napoleon was scarcely eighteen years of age when the Abbé Raynal, struck with the extent of his acquirements, appreciated them so highly as to invite him to his scientific *déjeûnés*. The celebrated Paoli was also accustomed to say, " This young man is formed on the ancient model : he is one of Plutarch's men."

When Napoleon was at the military school at Paris, and about seventeen years of age, he had a narrow escape for his life. While swimming in the Seine, the cramp seized him, and, after several ineffectual struggles, he sank. At that moment, he declared he experienced all the sensations of dying, and lost all recollection. However, after he had sunk, the current carried him upon a bank of sand, on the edge of which it threw him, where he lay senseless for some time, till he was restored by the aid of his young companions, who saw him by accident. Previous to this, they had given him up for lost, as they saw him sink, but did not imagine the current would have carried him to such a considerable distance.

Before we follow Napoleon in the career upon which he entered, we shall illustrate an event which was connected with the period of his stay at the military school at Paris. In 1784, when people were generally occupied with the discoveries made by M. Montgolfier, this aeronaut was allowed to make his experiments in the Champ de Mars. One day, when every thing was ready for his departure,

a pupil of the military school insisted upon accompanying him ; but notwithstanding all his entreaties, as he was not able to obtain his request, he rushed upon the aeronaut sword in hand, and injured him so much that he was incapable of proceeding. Some biographers have imputed this act to Napoleon ; but the perpetrator was one of his comrades, Dupont de Charbon, a young man who has since distinguished himself by the impetuosity of his character upon more than one occasion. Dupont died abroad in a state nearly bordering upon insanity.)

In the year 1785, Bonaparte was admitted into the artillery: he went from the military school at Paris into the regiment de la Fère, in quality of second lieutenant.

Instead of imitating the frivolity of many young men of his age, his mind was continually intent on military studies, and from the lives of Plutarch, a volume of which he generally carried about him, he learned at an early age to copy the manners, and emulate the great actions, of antiquity.

After joining his regiment at Valence, his first comrades at the mess table were Laribossière, who during the empire was appointed inspector-general of the artillery ; Sôrbier, who succeeded him ; D'Hedouville, junior ; Mallet, the brother of him who headed the tumult in Paris in 1813 ; an officer named Mabile, whom, on his return from emigration, the emperor appointed post-master-general ; Roland de Villarceaux, afterwards prefect of Nismes Desmazzis, senior, his companion at the military school, and the friend of his early years, who, after Napoleon ascended the throne, became keeper of the imperial wardrobe.



The regiment de la Fère behaved so badly to the inhabitants of Turin, that Napoleon was obliged to reduce them. He accordingly had them marched to Paris, and assembled on the parade, where he ordered the colours to be taken from them by some colonels, and lodged in the church of the Invalids, covered with mourning. The officers, who had not behaved so badly as the principal actors, were divided amongst other regiments. Some months afterwards he formed the regiment again under different officers, and the colours were taken from the church with great pomp by a number of colonels, each tearing a piece off, which they burnt, and new ones were given in their stead.

At Valence Napoleon was introduced to Madame Colombier, a lady about fifty years of age, who was endowed with many rare and estimable qualities, and was one of the most distinguished persons in the place. She entertained a great regard for the young artillery officer. She introduced him to the Abbé de St. Rufe, a man of considerable property, who was frequently visited by the most distinguished persons in the country. Madame Colombier often foretold that Napoleon would be an eminent man. The death of this lady happened about the time of the breaking out of the revolution,—an event in which she took great interest. The emperor never spoke of Madame Colombier but with expressions of the tenderest gratitude.

It was also at Valence that Napoleon's first susceptibility of the tender passion was excited by Mademoiselle Colombier, the daughter, who on her part was not insensible to his merits. It was the first love of both, and of that kind which might be expected at their age, and with their education. "We

were the most innocent creatures imaginable," the emperor used to say; "we contrived little meetings together: I well remember one which took place on a midsummer morning, just as day-light began to dawn. It will scarcely be believed that all our happiness consisted in eating cherries together."

When the emperor was proceeding to be crowned king of Italy, in passing through Lyons, he again saw Mademoiselle Colombier, who had changed her name to Madame de Bressieux. She gained access to him with some difficulty; Napoleon was happy to see her, though he found her much altered for the worse. He granted what she solicited for her husband, and placed her in the situation of lady of honour to one of his sisters.

Napoleon himself, it is said, referring to the part which he took at the first breaking out of the French revolution, observed, "Had I been a general, I should have been of the court party; sub-lieutenant, I should have declared for the revolution." He had, however, most decidedly ranged himself under the standard of liberty, when circumstances brought him to the knowledge of one of its most illustrious defenders, a man who till then had been the hero of Corsica, General Paoli. This general, who, after having fought with more glory than success for the independence of Corsica, found himself compelled to retire to England, had been authorized by the Constituent Assembly to reclaim the rank of citizen in his own country, then liberated by France, and of which it was then become an integral part. He arrived at Paris. Napoleon, whose father, as before observed, had distinguished himself in the war of independence, was received as a son by this old friend of Charles Bonaparte

The qualifications of young Bonaparte, and which had long been perceived by men of less penetration than Paoli, did not escape a man enlightened by so much experience. Whatever might have been the designs of Paoli, he found it very useful to attach this young soldier to himself, who, on his part, followed the old general with all the patriotism of a Frenchman, while the patriotism of Paoli was only that of a Corsican.

The impulse which the French revolution had given to Corsica, was not entirely to the interest of France. The majority of the local population were more in the habit of considering the French as masters than fellow-citizens, and of course could not perceive any liberty in any order of things that did not confer independence upon the whole island. Paoli himself was inclined to this mode of thinking. At first he dissimulated, but he could not long conceal the preference that he gave to the English constitution beyond that which the French legislature had conferred upon Corsica.

This predilection for the British regime, and his aversion to disorder, soon rendered Paoli a suspected character. He was several times accused before the legislature of an intention to deliver up to England that country for whose liberties he had fought. Following the example of the French, the island was divided into aristocrats and democrats: this produced other sub-divisions. Those who were on the side of liberty separated from Paoli's partisans, who had declared for the independence of Corsica; and these being declared traitors by the Convention, perhaps compelled them to become such in reality. Bonaparte remained a French citizen, and, without hesitating between the interest or the in

clination of his friend, and those of his country, he ceased to be the soldier of Paoli, to avoid becoming a subject to England.

It was not without pain that he divested himself of his long attachment to a man whom he had so many years admired as a hero. He undertook Paoli's defence upon many occasions, attended with danger. With his own hands he fixed upon the walls of Ajaccio the answer by which the municipality of that city refuted the basis of the decree issued against Paoli by the Convention. By this action, not less generous than courageous, he exposed himself to the animadversions of the commissaries sent to Corsica to put that decree in execution. Still his attachment to an habitual friendship did not carry him beyond the limits of his duty. Appointed commandant of the national guard, paid by government, he always maintained the interests of France against the national guard that did not receive pay, but which was in the interest of Paoli. This firmness in Bonaparte was never pardoned. Having quelled a kind of insurrection, he was accused of having provoked the disorder for the purpose of rendering himself useful in repressing it, and was obliged to go to Paris, to justify his conduct. This occurred in the year 1792, an epoch which was distinguished by the fall of royalty in France.

On his return to Corsica, after the memorable 10th of August, in that year, he at length found an opportunity of exercising his military talents. France was proclaimed a republic. She was threatened by, and she attacked all the powers of Europe. More than a million of Frenchmen fled to arms and in a short time the French armies were upon

the territories of those powers who had been driven from France. Belgium was conquered; Savoy was invaded. A fleet sailed from Toulon under Admiral Truguet. Bonaparte directed this expedition, which seized upon the island and fort of St. Etienne, as well as the Isle de la Madeleine, belonging to the king of Sardinia. This was conquering as far as lay in his power.

Truguet, before he met with the enemy, had to contend with the elements, and this completely prevented the junction of his fleet with the squadron cruising off Naples. When they arrived before Cagliari, they were received in a manner they did not expect from these islanders, who saluted them with showers of red hot balls. The troops that attempted a descent were also defeated. This expedition cost the republic a ship of the line and five or six hundred men, though their success at first seemed placed beyond a doubt. Among the troops were two battalions of the Corsican national guards.

The disorganization and retreat of this fleet inspired the independent party in Corsica with great hopes; the discontented rallied their forces, and, in spite of the decrees of the Convention, and the feeble army left in Corsica to retain them in obedience, they convoked a Consulta at Corté, under the auspices of Paoli, formed a council of government, the secretary of which was M. Pozzo di Borgo, at present the Russian ambassador at the court of France. The president, Paoli, was nominated generalissimo of the Corsican army. With the succours which he received from England, he easily dispersed the troops that took part with France. Aaccio and every place of importance were very

soon in Paoli's power. When Bonaparte returned into the island, Salicette and La Combe St. Michel, the members of the Convention charged to carry their decree into execution, had taken refuge at Calvi: Bonaparte, in going there to join them, was exposed to considerable danger arising from hatred, and perhaps fear, in a country where custom has the force of law, and where, for the purpose of destroying any man deemed obnoxious, even assassination is authorized by custom. With the assistance of some troops disembarked by the French commissioners, Bonaparte attempted to re-enter Ajaccio, but in vain; the arms of the Convention had no more power than its decrees. The proscription of the conquered was the consequence of the victory. Bonaparte had signalized himself too much to be spared. A decree, excited and signed by Paoli, condemned him to perpetual banishment. Despoiled of his property and his office, Bonaparte embarked with his kindred, who always shared his fortune. A frail bark received this future Cæsar and his family, and conveyed them across the waves, in the prosecution of his high destinies. At that period nothing was more deplorable than Bonaparte's present prospects; nothing more uncertain than the future. But he felt a persuasion that fortune might not always abandon him; and a vast scene still lay open to his views. He was young; he went to France. Probably it was on this occasion that he said, "In a revolution, a soldier should never despair, if he possesses courage and genius."

Previous to this departure, the Bonaparte family had the honour of being threatened with *a march* of the inhabitants of the island; that is, they were attacked by 12 or 15,000 peasants, who came down

from the mountains on Ajaccio, and pillaged and burnt Napoleon's family residence, not sparing either the flocks or the vines. Madame, with a few faithful friends, wandered for some time on the seashore. Paoli, who had for some time perceived this gathering storm, endeavoured to avert it. "Renounce this opposition," said he to madame; "it will prove the ruin of yourself, your family, and fortune;" but madame, like another Cornelia, heroically replied, "that she, her children, and her relatives, would only obey two laws; namely duty and honour."

## CHAPTER II.

*Separation of the Bonaparte Family—Siege of Toulon—General Cartaux, Dugommier and Bonaparte—General O'Hara—Bonaparte wounded—Appointed to command the Artillery of the Army of Italy—His Imprisonment and Liberation—Goes to Nice—General Dumerbion—Operations against the Austrians and Piedmontese—Bonaparte displaced by Aubry, the Commissioner of the Convention—Restored by M. Pontcoulant—Quarrel between the Sections and the Convention—Bonaparte employed against them—Anecdote—Marriage of Napoleon with Madame Beauharnois—His departure for the Army of Italy in March, 1796—Address to the Soldiers—His Visit to Marseilles.*

BONAPARTE and his family, having left Corsica, and disembarked in Provence, found themselves reduced, by their attachment to France, to a state of distress similar to that in which a number of French emigrants had been placed by a contrary cause.

Madame Bonaparte lived at Marseilles with her daughters, upon the scanty allowance assigned her by government in return for the sacrifice she had made of all she possessed. Her sons had to contend with their misfortunes unassisted. Joseph and Lucien obtained employ in the army administration. Napoleon and Louis engaged in the military service.

Returning into the corps of artillery, Napoleon passed as a first lieutenant in the fourth regiment of that corps. A few months after, he rose by the right of seniority to the rank of captain in the second company of the same corps, then in garrison at Nice. This was in the year 1793, when the dreadful event, the execution of Louis XVI., astonished even those of the capital, who were fore



ed to concur in it, and impressed a degree of horror upon the majority of the French in the provinces

The proposals made to the inhabitants of Toulon by the British admiral Hood, who blockaded that port by sea, were specious in no small degree. "Declare yourselves," said he, "openly and frankly for the monarchy; hoist the ancient French colours; disarm your ships of war; put us in possession of your forts; and, in the name of his Britannic majesty, I offer you all the succours in my power." These terms being accepted, such a number of English, Spanish, and Neapolitan troops were landed, that it became necessary for the French to assemble an army of 30,000 men, before they could compel the besieged to evacuate the town and the forts.

Assisted by the bravery of the French, General Cartaux, besides gaining some other advantages, took a position before Toulon; but he soon felt his incapacity to carry on such an important operation for any length of time, and General Dugommier, a man of superior genius, was called upon to direct the siege. Previous to this general's arrival, Bonaparte had been appointed to the command of the artillery, and, with a few exceptions, Cartaux placed the most unlimited confidence in the young officer of artillery, whom he called "Captain Cannon."

The success of a siege must depend upon the artillery, especially where they have to contend with artillery.

Bonaparte not only performed all that might have been expected of him, but frequently rectified the errors of others, and displayed the superiority of his genius to more than one officer, his superior in

rank. Preserving his dignity with the representatives that were sent by the Convention to Toulon, as he did with every one else, he trusted that his self-confidence would be justified by his successes. One of the representatives here having made some observation upon the position of a battery, "Mind your own business," said Bonaparte, "and leave mine to me. This battery must remain where it is; I will answer for its effect."

In action he was at all times both officer and soldier: at the taking of a redoubt, and fighting near Marshal Suchet, then a captain, he undertook to load a gun at which an artillery man had just been killed, and, making use of the ramrod whilst it was warm, he contracted a disease which reproduced itself for a long time under a variety of forms: but this he often recollected as one of the first acts of his military career.

The rank of general of brigade was the reward conferred upon Bonaparte for his services at the siege of Toulon.

When Napoleon spoke to Barry O'Meara about the siege of Toulon, he observed, that he had made General O'Hara prisoner—"I may say," said he, "with my own hand. He ran out of the battery, and advanced towards us. In advancing, he was wounded by the fire of a sergeant, and I, who stood at the mouth of the *boyau*, seized him by the coat, and threw him back amongst my own men, thinking he was a colonel, as he had two epaulets on. While they were taking him to the rear, he cried out that he was the commander-in-chief of the English. He thought they were going to massacre him, as there existed a horrible order at that time

from the Convention, to give no quarter to the English. I ran up, and prevented the soldiers from ill treating him. He spoke very bad French, and, as I saw that he thought they intended to butcher him, I did every thing in my power to console him, and gave directions that his wound should be immediately dressed, and every attention paid to him. He afterwards begged of me to give him a statement of the manner of his capture, to show it to his government in his justification. Those blockheads of deputies," continued Napoleon, "wanted to attack and storm the town first; but I explained to them that it was very strong, and that we should lose many men; that the best way would be to make ourselves masters of the forts first, which commanded the harbour, and then the English would either be taken, or be obliged to burn the greatest part of the fleet, and escape. My advice was taken, and the English, perceiving what would be the result, set fire to the ships, and abandoned the town."

During this early exhibition of his skill and courage, Bonaparte attacked a battery occupied by the English, which, having charged it several times, at length, in order to encourage his men, he jumped into, and almost instantaneously received a deep bayonet wound in the interior of the left thigh, about two inches and a half above the knee. He fell backwards, and was received into the arms of Lieutenant Muiron, who safely bore him from the scene of action. This wound nearly cost Bonaparte the loss of his leg; but he ever after regarded Muiron as his brother.

The simplicity of General Cartaux, whom Bonaparte was sent to act under, or rather supersede, at the siege of Toulon, was striking. He was, how

ever, described as a haughty man, covered with lace from head to foot, who, upon Bonaparte's arrival, asked him what duty he had been sent upon. The young officer modestly presenting the letter he was intrusted with—"This," said Cartaux, twirling his whiskers, "was quite unnecessary; we want no assistance to retake Toulon; but, however, you are welcome, and you may share the glory of burning the town to-morrow, without having experienced any of the fatigue."

In all the disputes, and many occurred, between Cartaux and Bonaparte, as commandant of artillery, the wife of the general was commonly present, and uniformly took part with the young officer of artillery, saying with great *naivete* to her husband, "Let the young man alone; he knows more about it than you do, for he never asks your advice; besides, are you not the responsible person? the glory will be yours."

Soon after the retaking of Toulon, Bonaparte accompanied General Dugommier to Marseilles, and was with him in company there, when some one, struck with his person, asked the general who that *little bit of an officer was, and where he had picked him up?* "That officer's name," replied the general, "is Bonaparte: I picked him up at the siege of Toulon, to the successful termination of which he eminently contributed; and you will probably see, one day, that this *little bit of an officer* is a greater man than any of us."

Bonaparte, being appointed to the command of the artillery, afterwards repaired to the army of Italy: there new persecutions awaited him. He was confident in his own opinions, but these were not conformable to those that had prevailed in the

council. After having seized upon the Col di Tende, Oneglia, and Ormea, in the valley of Tanaro, the army stationary upon the Alps seemed to rest satisfied without extending its conquests. Instead of a war of posts, Bonaparte proposed a war of invasion, and that the army should precipitate itself upon Piedmont from those mountains which no longer afforded it protection.

This advice, given with confidence, though it was afterwards attended with success, was attributed to presumption, and the assurance with which Napoleon repeated it on all occasions, was censured as insubordination. Men of mean talents were only waiting for an opportunity to get rid of the observation of a superior genius. The results of the 10th of Thermidor offered the occasion that was wanted. The connexion between Bonaparte and the commissioners sent by the Convention to superintend the siege of Toulon, was now found useful to the young general. Among these commissioners was the younger Robespierre, who was accused of favouring the projects of his brother. Bonaparte was suspended from his functions, and imprisoned for some time as an accomplice with this commissioner, whom he obeyed in common with the rest of the army. Never despairing, Bonaparte, far from renouncing his system, employed himself in rendering his plan of a campaign as perfect as possible, even when under confinement. In imagination, he had already made a descent upon that beautiful Lombardy which he was soon to conquer in reality. The duration of this imprisonment was not long. The importance of Bonaparte's presence was demonstrated by his absence. Wishing again to conquer, the Convention recalled the man who

had already possessed the art of organizing victory, and to whose talents and excellent combinations General Dumerbion acknowledged he owed his success in Italy, when Bonaparte was first sent to Nice. This was in March, 1794.

General Dumerbion was an old and brave officer who had previously carried on the war between the Var and the Roya, and was well acquainted with the positions of all the mountains that cover Nice. Bonaparte, having visited the advanced posts, and reconnoitred the line which the army occupied, laid a memorial before General Dumerbion, relating to the unfortunate attack of General Brunet, and to the method of compelling the enemy to retreat beyond the Upper Alps, by taking possession of the Col di Tende. These suggestions being presented to a council, at which the representatives Ricors and young Robespierre were sitting, they were agreed to unanimously. Since the taking of Toulon, the reputation of Bonaparte was quite sufficient to inspire confidence in his designs. Still it is evident, that, for some time, few of the representatives of the people knew how to appreciate his merits and character. At Nice, whilst general of the artillery, he was for a short time put under an arrest by the deputy Laporte, because he would not allow him to employ his artillery horses for the service of the post.

On the 18th of April, 1794, a part of the army under Massena, (Dumerbion being confined by the gout,) in pursuance of Bonaparte's plan, crossed the Roya near Menton and then divided into four columns: the first marched up the bank of the Roya; the second up that of the Nervia; the third up that of the Taggio; and the fourth moved upon Oneglia.

The column of Oneglia, upon the heights of St. Agatha, fell in with a body of Austrians and Piedmontese, and defeated them. Brulé, the general of brigade, was killed in the action. The headquarters being removed to Oneglia, troops were immediately sent to occupy Loano. From Oneglia the French marched to the sources of the Tanaro, beat the enemy on the heights of Ponte Dinairo, possessed themselves of the fortress of Ormea, entered Garessio, and occupied the road from that place to Turin. In the mean while, the movements of the other three French columns so alarmed the Piedmontese, that they hastily abandoned all the positions which had been stained by so much blood. Saorgio was immediately invested, and capitulated; and, on the 7th of May, the Piedmontese troops, after a brisk attack, were driven from the Col di Tende. In this manner, all the upper regions of the Alps fell into the hands of the French. By these manœuvres, the army of Italy had gained more than sixty pieces of cannon. Saorgio was provisioned, and abounded with ammunition of every kind, being the principal dépôt of all the Piedmontese army. In these new positions the French remained till September, when they marched to meet an Austrian force advancing on the Bormida.

General Bonaparte, having passed the straits of the Bormida, proceeded to Chiari, where he fell in with 12 or 13,000 Austrians manœuvring on the plain, who no sooner saw the French army than they retreated to Dego, where being soon attacked, they retired upon Acqui. The French army, having taken Dego, had now several magazines, and had ascertained that there was nothing to fear from the Austrians. This march, directed by Bonaparte, had

spread consternation through all Italy. The French line then extended to Bardinetto and the Col d' Tende, passing by Septipani, Melaglio, and St. James.

The remainder of the year 1794 was spent in putting all these positions in a proper state of defence, especially Vado. The knowledge that Napoleon acquired, under all these circumstances, became extremely useful to him in 1796, when he was appointed commander-in-chief.

But the successes and advantages which Bonaparte had procured for the republic whilst only general of artillery in the army of Italy, did not seem to give satisfaction to the party that succeeded in the Convention after the fall of Robespierre. Their commissioner, Aubry, was sent into the departments to purify the armies of terrorists, and men without capacity; and he boasted of having excluded no less than 12,000 officers from the fourteen armies. Aubry, with a view of mortifying a man whom he dared not to dismiss from the service, insisted on Bonaparte's removal from Italy to the army of the west in La Vendée. Bonaparte refused to accept of this appointment, and came to Paris. His expostulation with Aubry on this occasion, which occurred in May, 1795, is said to have formed a perfect scene. Bonaparte insisted vehemently, because he had facts to bear him out. Aubry was bitter and obstinate, because he was invested with power. Napoleon, he said, was too young, being then but twenty-five years of age; who answered that a soldier soon grew old on the field of battle. In the event, he was obliged to pass a long period in a state of painful inactivity.



During this interval, his pecuniary resources were exhausted, in a great measure, by the depreciation of the paper money : friendship, however, came to his aid : Marmont never quitted him ; Junot also assisted him, and assured him that the state of inaction to which he had been reduced could not be of any long continuance.

It is not surprising that Bonaparte, about this time, indulged an idea of quitting France, and engaging in the service of the Turks, then at war with Austria. But Aubry having been in his turn displaced, and his office supplied by M. Pontcoulant, he not only re-commissioned Bonaparte, but retained him in Paris to assist the labours of the military council, to whom Bonaparte submitted the stupendous plan of his Italian campaign for 1796, which he afterwards carried into execution. This plan might have been taken for a real report of operations actually performed, rather than an outline of such as had only been projected : such was the precision with which every measure afterwards adopted had been previously foreseen.

The quarrel between the Convention and the 48 sections of Paris, which eventually placed Bonaparte in a more distinguished situation than ever he had held before, originated in their passing the two obnoxious laws of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor, (22d and 30th of August,) 1795. These decrees expressed, that two thirds of the members composing the Convention should be re-elected for the new legislature. The people, especially the Parisians, could not endure the idea of men re-electing themselves ; as, upon the principle they had acted for two years, they might continue for life, and thus establish a system infinitely more odious than abso-

lute monarchy. Besides, the Convention was justly represented as a body of tyrants and assassins, purged indeed of the most infamous monsters, such as Robespierre and others, yet still continuing the murderers of the 2d of September, the conspirators of the 31st of May, the applauders of the assassination of the Gironde party, &c.

This Convention, on Sunday, October 4, declared their intentions of having recourse to arms by a proclamation, and, after the lapse of a few hours, Napoleon Bonaparte, by accepting an appointment as second in command under M. Barras, had pledged himself to support their measures of coercion. The plea set up in justification of this conduct by Napoleon and his friends, rests upon the circumstance, "that the Convention was successively torn by factions, which were never able to acquire any stability, but varied their principles almost every month. The interior of the republic was afflicted by a horrible system of reaction: the national domains could no longer find purchasers; the assignats fell every day, the armies were without money, being till then only supplied by requisitions and the *maximum*; the magazines were also empty, and the soldier was no longer sure of bread. Even the recruiting had ceased, though the armies continued to gain great advantages, because they were more numerous than ever. The party of the Bourbons were every day increasing. Pichegru, the first general of the republic, had been gained over. All parties were tired of the Convention, and it was tired of itself. It had promised the nation a constitution, and it perceived, at length, that the safety of that, and its own also, depended on the fulfilment of the expectations which had been raised."

On the 25th of June, 1795, it adopted the constitution known under the title of that of the year III. The government was intrusted to five persons, under the name of the Directory; the legislature to two councils, called the Council of Five Hundred, and the Council of the Ancients.

It was now a prevalent opinion, that the fall of the constitution of 1794 was to be attributed to that law of the Constituent Assembly which excluded its members from the legislature. The royalists, in particular, found all their arrangements baffled; but what brought Napoleon Bonaparte into more notice than ever was, the rejection of the additional laws by the forty-eight sections of Paris, who assembled, and, forming as many tribunes, these were filled by the most violent orators, Laharpe, Serizi, Lacretelle the younger, Vaublanc, &c.

The national guard, who were in the interest of the sections, consisted of upwards of forty thousand men. The sections appeared one after another at the bar of the Convention, warmly expressing their sentiments. The Convention, it is said, believed that this commotion in the capital was like those riots so common in London, and of which instances frequently happened in Rome at the time of the Comitia.

On the 12th of Vendemaire, (3d October, 1795,) at seven or eight in the evening, General Menou, accompanied by the representatives of the people who were commissioners to the army of the interior, proceeded with a numerous body of troops to the place of the meeting of the section Lepelletier, but, after spending an hour in useless negotiations, withdrew by a kind of capitulation, without having dispersed or disarmed the meeting. The

section, thus triumphant, declared itself permanent ; but Menou was deprived of his command

General Bonaparte was at the theatre Feydeau, when some of his friends informed him of the singular events that were passing. Seeing the conventional troops thus repulsed, he hastened to their assembly, and found them in the greatest agitation. The representatives sent with Menou, to exculpate themselves, accused him of treason, and he was put under arrest. To repair this failure, every representative recommended the general who possessed his confidence. The members of the Committee of Public Safety proposed Napoleon, who being absent, messengers were sent after him into the city. Napoleon, who had heard of all that had been said, and, besides, knew what was in agitation, deliberated with himself more than half an hour, on the course most eligible for him to pursue. After weighing the odium which might attach to him on account of his taking part against the people in behalf of the Convention, he judiciously concluded, that if that should sink, all the numerous victories, and all the blood that had been shed, would be lost. He made up his mind, went to the committee, and was appointed general-in-chief. Upon consulting Menou, he learned that the army consisted of only five thousand soldiers, of all descriptions, with forty pieces of cannon then at Sablons, guarded by only fifteen men. This was an hour after midnight, when Napoleon despatched Murat, then a major of the 21st light horse, to bring this artillery to the garden of the Tuilleries. One moment longer would have been too late ; a column of the section of Lepelletier, on the march to seize those guns

was only prevented by the timely arrival of these cavalry.

On the next morning, from six to nine, Napoleon visited all the posts, and placed this artillery at the head of the Pont Louis XVI., the Pont Royal, the Rue de Rohan, the Pont Tournant, &c. All the matches were lighted, and the whole of the little army was distributed at the different posts, or in reserve in the garden, and the Place Carrousel. In the mean while the *generale* was beat through Paris, and the national guards formed at all the *debouches*, and they were even so insolent as to come and beat the *generale* on the Carrousel and the Place Louis XV. The danger was imminent, and matters on the 13th of Vendemaire grew worse and worse; the Convention had been summoned to dismiss the troops which threatened the people, and to disarm the terrorists. The Tuilleries was already strictly blockaded, and at length, at a quarter after four, some musket shots were discharged from the Hotel de Noailles, where the sectionaries had introduced themselves; the balls reached the steps of the Tuilleries. About a hundred men attempted to make a stand at the Theatre de la Republique, but a few shells from the howitzers dislodged them, and at six o'clock all was over.

Some assemblages still continued on the 14th in the section Lepelletier, but they were soon dispersed. In the evening order was completely restored, owing to the promptitude of General Bonaparte's measures, and Paris was once more perfectly tranquil.

It was after this great event, when the officers of the army of the interior were presented in a body to the Convention, that the members, by acclama-

tion, appointed Bonaparte general-in-chief of the army.

General Menou was delivered over to a council of war, and would certainly have suffered death, had not Bonaparte, with his usual address, insisted that the three representatives sent with him deserved the same punishment.—Lafond was the only one executed; he had evinced great courage; the head of his column on the Pont Royal formed again three times under the fire of grape-shot, before it entirely gave way.

Napoleon now, as commander-in-chief of the army of the interior, had to re-organize the national guard, an object of the highest importance, as it then contained no less than 104 battalions. At the same time he formed the guard of the Directory, and re-organized that of the legislative body.

It was only during a few months that Napoleon commanded the army of the interior, and these were replete with difficulties and embarrassments. The members of the new government were not only divided amongst themselves, but often in opposition to the councils; there was still a ferment amongst the subdued sectionaries; the Jacobins assembled again, under the name of the Society of the Pantheon, and the agents of royalty formed a powerful party; the finances and paper money were in discredit; the troops were discontented; and a famine afflicted the capital to such a degree, that ten or twelve times the supply of provisions failed entirely. Thus no ordinary degree of activity and address was required to maintain tranquillity in the capital against such a combination of calamities.

In fact, Napoleon had frequent occasion to ha

range in the markets, the streets, the sections and faubourgs.

One day, when the usual distribution of bread at the bakers' shops had not taken place, and while Napoleon was parading about with a part of his staff, he was alarmingly pressed upon by the crowd. A woman of a monstrous robust appearance made herself eminently conspicuous by her menacing gestures and exclamations. "Those fine epauleted fellows, said she, pointing to the officers, "laugh at our distress: so long as they can eat and grow fat, they care not if the poor die of hunger." Napoleon turned to her, and said, "Good woman, look at me; which is fattest, you or I?" He was then so thin, that he described himself as a slip of parchment. A general burst of laughter disarmed the fury of the populace, and the party continued their round.

The marriage of Napoleon with Madame Beauharnois, which took place about this time, has been imputed to causes not only derogatory to the high spirit which he always possessed, but to others that seem quite unnecessary. In regard to the marriage between Napoleon and Josephine, it seems an intimacy had been cemented some considerable time before his new appointment.

During the general disarming of the sections of Paris, a youth of ten or twelve years of age presented himself before the staff, entreating Bonaparte to give orders for restoring to him the sword of his father, who had been a general of the republic. This youth was Eugene Beauharnois, afterwards viceroy of Italy. Napoleon, moved by the nature of his request, and by his juvenile grace, granted his petition; when, on beholding his father's sword, young Eugene burst into tears. The gene-

ral was touched at his sensibility, and behaved so kindly to him, that Madame Beauharnois thought herself obliged to wait on him next day, to thank him for his attention. Napoleon, a short time afterwards, returned her visit. Every one knew the extraordinary grace of the Empress Josephine, her sweet and attractive manners. The acquaintance soon became intimate and tender, and it was not long before they were married.

Whilst Napoleon had been thus employed in Paris, the command of the army of Italy had been given to Kellerman, an officer of much personal bravery, but who made such unskilful dispositions, that, by the end of June, 1795, the army had lost the positions of Vado, St. James, and Bardinetto. General Kellerman even talked of evacuating the Genoese coast, and so alarmed the Committee of Public Safety, that they convened all the representatives who had been in Italy, in order to consult them. They justly described Napoleon as perfectly acquainted with the localities of the country, and, being summoned by the committee, he convinced them, that, to maintain the line of the French army, not more than half their number was required. The conquest of Italy notwithstanding all these unpromising circumstances, seemed to have been reserved for Napoleon Bonaparte.

In February, 1796, the army of Italy might be considered as having no leader! General Scherer had asked for money to pay his troops; for horses to replace those that had died for want of food; and government could give him neither one nor the other; but returning evasive answers and empty promises, he declared that, if any further delay took place, he should be compelled to evacuate the



Genoese territory, return to the Roya, and perhaps repass the Var. The Directory then resolved to supersede Scherer, and Napoleon was fortunately chosen as the only man capable of extricating them from the embarrassing situation into which they had sunk. He accordingly set out for Nice a second time.

Napoleon was now freed from that restraint he had long felt in the capital. His genius required a theatre of much larger extent, and victories less painful, though they might be obtained with greater difficulty. His departure from Paris, to commence his celebrated Italian campaign of 1796, took place on the 1st of Germinal, or the 21st of March. He was the only person who was not astonished at his good fortune. When a friend, who was congratulating him upon this appointment, testified some surprise at his youth, he replied, "I shall return old."

The full tide of Napoleon's glory set in from this Italian campaign.

The French army of Italy was about 31,000 strong, whilst nearly three times their number were opposed to them, and besides had 200 pieces of cannon. The character of the French troops was excellent; but their cavalry was wretchedly mounted, and they were equally deficient in artillery. There were no means of transporting stores of any kind from the arsenals; all the draught-horses had perished through want. The penury of the French finances was so great, that the efforts of government could only furnish 2000 Louis in specie to the military chest. An order was issued for all the general officers to receive four Louis apiece, by way of outfit. The supply of bread was uncertain; that of meat had long

ceased. For means of conveyance there remained only two hundred mules. It was impossible to think of transporting more than twelve pieces of cannon. Bonaparte, however, put the army in motion with the following address:—"Soldiers! you are naked, ill-fed: much is due to us; there is nothing to pay us with. The patience and courage you have shown in the midst of these rocks are admirable; but they win you no glory. I come to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world: rich provinces, great cities, will be in your power. There you will have wealth, honour, and glory. Soldiers of Italy! can your courage fail?"—These words were addressed to his troops on the 29th of March.

On his way to the head-quarters of this army, he stopped thirty-six hours at Marseilles, to visit his family.

## CHAPTER III.

*Bonaparte's Plan—His personal Appearance—Battle of Montenotte Millesimo—Dego—Anecdotes—Affair of Fombio—Death of La Harpe—Bridge of Lodi.*

BONAPARTE's plan had been shown to several generals by the Committee of Public Safety. Berthier, who from his experience had acquired considerable respect, bestowed very high eulogiums upon it; but added, that to carry it into execution would require fifty thousand men more. Bonaparte, however, undertook to open this campaign with the trivial re-enforcement of six thousand men from the army of the Pyrenees. From the army of the Alps he received no succour till Piedmont had been conquered; and, Italy being subdued, he was on his march to Carinthia, when he was joined by the division under Bernadotte, upon the borders of the Tagliamento. The first obstacles Bonaparte had to contend with, arose from his own army.

Bonaparte, at all times more imposing by his attitude than by his stature, with a shape extremely slender, now laboured under the disadvantage of a pale and meager visage; and the expression of his countenance was lost beneath his long hair whitened by the use of powder. Besides, he by no means sat well on horseback, and when he rode along the ranks, the soldiers complained that a boy had been sent to command them.

The French army exceeded fifty-six thousand men. Napoleon hastened the opening of the campaign, though without magazines, ammunition, or a military chest.

On the 29th of March, only thirty-five thousand men took the field with Bonaparte.

A battle ensued, April 9th; and fifteen hundred killed, 2000 wounded, and the taking of many colours, were the fruits of this victory, which enabled the French to remove their head-quarters to Carcara.

On the 14th, another battle was fought, in which the Austrians lost 10,000 killed and prisoners. Twenty-two pieces of cannon and fifteen standards were the fruits of this victory. The French now found, on the summit of the Alps, every species of ammunition, and other objects which the celerity of their march had prevented them from bringing. Thus Bonaparte increased his forces by the same operations that diminished those of the enemy.

Before Bonaparte commenced this campaign of 1796, he had promised to write to M. Faypoult, French minister at Genoa. Fifteen days had elapsed, and no letter arrived, though hostilities had commenced some time. One morning, however, about five o'clock, a domestic entered M. Faypoult's chamber in a dreadful fright, telling him to rise, as the Austrians, he said, were in the city. The minister imagined that it was probable that the enemy, after gaining some great success, might have been so elated with it, that it might have induced him to break through all measures, and to take possession of Genoa, at least provisionally. He dressed in haste, when the first secretary of the legation, entering, confirmed what the domestic had said before

Determined to protest against this violation of the rights of nations, the two diplomatists proceeded to the hall of audience without delay, when they saw an Austrian general just alighting from his horse, accompanied by a body of cavalry and a numerous staff. Before M. Faypoult had time to express himself, the Austrian general delivered him a letter, which the emotions he experienced would scarcely permit him to open. This letter was from Bonaparte. Faithful to his promise, it contained an account of his victories at Montenotte and Millesimo, inviting him to provide accommodations for General Provera, who, instead of being a conqueror, as M. Faypoult supposed, was now a prisoner.

The Directory, in their despatches to Bonaparte expressed themselves thus: "To-day, general, receive the tribute of national gratitude."

Shut up in his capital with the wreck of an army that had been beaten every time they fought, Victor Amedeus the Third appeared resolved to sustain a siege. This prince, who had made several campaigns with his father, not much in favour of the French, judging of the present by the past, did not at first suppose that a *petit caporal*, a little republican corporal, could beat the old generals of kings: and he could not imagine why General Beaulieu, who had promised him never to pull off his boots till he came to Lyons, should have taken quite a contrary route. At length, roused from his incredulity by the murmurs of the public, and reposing confidence in himself in proportion as he withdrew it from others, "Ah!" said he, pulling up his small clothes—"if I go; if I go,"—every time he learnt the news of a new defeat. Bonaparte, however saved him the trouble of going.

Order being restored, the army advanced in pursuit of victories.

At this time some of the inhabitants of Genoa, seeing the Austrians descending from the mountains, came out of the city to inquire the cause of these movements. One among them questioned two travellers that had stopped near a broken carriage, saying, "Cannot you tell us what all this signifies?"—"It signifies," replied an elderly gentleman, "that a man of seventy-four years of age has been duped by a young man of twenty-six."

Bonaparte's new system of military movements excited universal attention. This campaign was scarcely opened, when Lombardy was inundated with troops in every direction, and the French approached Mantua *pêle mêle* with the enemy. Napoleon, when in the vicinity of Pizzighitone, saw a tall German colonel, a prisoner, and, questioning him, without being known, as to how affairs were going on, was told, "very badly. I know how it will end," said he.

The appellation of *petit caporal*, as applied to Bonaparte, has also been mentioned; but an anecdote confirming this has been related by Napoleon himself. When he commanded near the Col di Tende, the army was obliged to pass over a narrow bridge: he gave directions that no women should be allowed to accompany it, as the service was a most difficult one, and required the troops to be continually on the alert. To enforce this order, he placed two captains on the bridge, with instructions, on pain of death, not to permit a woman to pass. He afterwards went to the bridge himself, to see

that these orders were obeyed, where he found a crowd of women assembled, who, as soon as they perceived him, began to revile him, bawling out. "Oh then, *petit caporal*, is it you who have given orders not to let us pass?"—After each battle, the oldest soldiers used to hold a council, and confer a new rank on their young general, who, when he made his appearance in the camp, was received by the veterans, and saluted by his new title. They made Bonaparte a *corporal* at Lodi, and a *sergeant* at Castiglione; and hence the surname of *petit caporal*, which for a long time was applied to him by the soldiers.

Although Bonaparte had thus defeated two armies, and detached one of the kings from the coalition against France, he could not allow any respite to his troops.

Notwithstanding his defeats, Beaulieu left Piedmont with 30,000 men, including 4000 cavalry. This army was soon increased by re-enforcements from the Tyrol. Bonaparte in the interim, availing himself of the treaty of Cherasco, observing, by this means, that "one wing of the enemy's army gave him time to beat the other," pursued Beaulieu.

Beaulieu, disconcerted by Bonaparte's tactics, endeavoured to maintain himself in Piedmont by acts of perfidy—by seizing of Alexandria, Tortone, and Valenza, in contempt of the alliance which existed between the emperor his master and the king of Sardinia.

After having indulged Beaulieu's error by false movements, Bonaparte suddenly advanced by a forced march to Castello San Giovanni with three thousand grenadiers and fifteen hundred horse. He

arrived here on the 6th of May, at eleven at night, and at seven in the morning he was at Plaisance.

On the 8th, at noon, learning that an enemy's division was not far off, he marched towards Fombio, where he found them most advantageously intrenched in a position defended by twenty pieces of cannon. The enemy resisted two hours; but was then obliged to retire towards the Adda, after having lost a number of men and horses, and the greatest part of their baggage.

The night following the glorious day of Fombio was distinguished by a fatal event. Beaulieu, having received intelligence of the defeat of his troops at that place, marched under favour of the night to Codogno, with the view of surprising a French division that occupied that place. He arrived there about two in the morning: he had already overthrown the advanced posts, when General La Harpe, having mounted his horse on the first alarm, presented himself, and restored order. His escort, on his return, was composed of hussars, who, owing to the darkness of the night, were mistaken for the enemy's hulans, and received a volley, which killed La Harpe! Bonaparte, in announcing his death, traced his eulogium in a few words: "The republic," said he, "has lost a man who was devoted to its interests; the army one of its best generals and every soldier a companion."

Bonaparte hastened to pursue the enemy to Lodi on the river Adda, where General Beaulieu had collected his forces. On the approach of the French, the Imperialists abandoned the town of Lodi, with such precipitancy, that they had not time to destroy the bridge.



It was defended by ten thousand men, and thirty pieces of cannon. No consideration could resist the impetuosity of the soldiers, or their leaders; for, on the 10th of May, 1796, four thousand grenadiers being formed into a solid column, made a sudden charge, and had proceeded six hundred feet, exactly half the length of the bridge, when they became exposed to such an incessant shower of grape-shot, that their foremost ranks were entirely swept away; and the troops who had hitherto advanced at a quick pace, with bent heads and extended bayonets, were staggered, and began to hesitate. At this critical moment, the Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, and D'Allemagne, starting from the ranks, invited the grenadiers to renew the attack, while Bonaparte in person, seizing a standard, placed himself at their head. Animated to the highest degree of enthusiasm by such an example, the troops rushed by their generals with resistless impetuosity amidst the cries of "*Five la Republique!*"

## CHAPTER IV.

*Consternation at Milan—Public Entry of Bonaparte—Treaty of Cherasco, between the King of Sardinia and the Directory—Revenue derived from Italy—Anecdote—Bonaparte's Interchange with the Learned at Milan—Insurrections at Pavia, &c.—Anecdotes—Narrow Escapes of Bonaparte—Treaty between France and Naples—Negotiations with the Pope—Alarm at Rome—Seizure of Leghorn—Bonaparte entertained by the Grand Duke of Tuscany—Revolution at Genoa—Anecdote—Beaulieu succeeded by Wurmser—Perilous Situation of the French Army—General Junot—Lonado—Stratagem—Battles of Castiglione and Bassano—The Dog and his dead Master.*

THE uninterrupted successes of Bonaparte had thrown Milan into a state of inquietude that was soon converted into terror. The nobility, the clergy, the administration, and even the citizens, had neglected nothing that could stimulate the courage of the populace. Colours had been distributed, processions ordered, rewards promised; and, by the aid of voluntary contributions, the nobles, persons in office, and the citizens, had provided a fund for the support of the widows and orphans of those who might fall in the defence of their country; and whilst the ladies went about collecting, and the soldiers were fighting, the priests invoked the blessings of Heaven.

When the news arrived at Milan of the passage of the Po, hope was converted into dismay; the battle of Lodi was followed by despair. The Archduke's family abandoned Milan in the greatest pre-

ipitation: the court hastened to follow this example. Such was the state of the public feeling, when the army presented themselves at the gates on the 14th of May, 1796.

General Bonaparte, who followed close after Massena, made his public entry into the capital of Lombardy on the next day. He had received the keys of the city from a deputation sent to Marignan. Count Melzi, at the head of the nobles, came to meet him as far as Melezuolo. At the Roman gate of Milan, Bonaparte found an immense population, and the civic guard formed in a double line to receive him. Bonaparte marched in the midst of the grenadiers of Lodi, among whom were some generals. Enthusiasm was at its height: military symphonies, executed by the Milanese and French musicians, were mixed with the acclamations of the people during this triumphant march to the palace of the archduke, where a splendid banquet was prepared. The *fête* was terminated by a brilliant ball, in which the ladies of Milan were dressed according to the French mode.

But, besides seizing the money in the military chest, a contribution of twenty millions was imposed upon Milan, to alleviate which, it was agreed that the silver used in the churches should be melted down, and placed to the account. It was not till this epoch that the army began to receive pay in money. On the same day that Bonaparte entered Milan, the treaty with the king of Sardinia and the Directory was signed at Paris.

From this period the army of Italy was no longer a burthen, but became a source of revenue to France, and assisted in paying other armies. Six weeks after the opening of this campaign, besides

ten millions placed at the disposal of the Directory Bonaparte had sent upwards of 200,000 francs to the army of the Alps, and a million to the army of the Rhine.

The Directory, under the idea that Bonaparte had till then pursued his own plans, thought it was now the proper time for him to adopt theirs: they wanted to divert him from pursuing the route to Germany, which he had opened by the battle of Lodi; to employ Kellerman in his place, and send him into the south of Italy. He offered to give up the command, and they desisted from the prosecution of their purpose. In his apology, he observed, that he believed it was better to have one bad general than two good ones. One day he had occasion to complain to Berthier, that the measures prescribed for provisioning the army had not been followed. "That," said Berthier, "is astonishing; however, I have given my orders for this purpose."—"What do you call *your orders*?" replied Bonaparte, briskly. "Here is only one man who has any right to give orders, and that is myself; it is the business of the rest to obey: and so, to begin with you, sir, mount your horse, and see that *my* orders are obeyed."

While Bonaparte was at Milan, the celebrated Oriani paid a visit to him. On entering, the astronomer was astonished, and unable to return an answer to the general's questions; but, recovering from his surprise, he said, "Excuse me—this is the first time I have ever entered these superb apartments; my eyes are not accustomed," &c.—thus pronouncing a severe criticism on the government of the archduke.

By writing to Oriani, Bonaparte seemed to communicate his sentiments to all the learned of Italy. "In Milan," he said, "the learned did not enjoy the consideration to which they were entitled. Retired in their closets, they thought themselves happy if kings and priests did them no harm.

According to each treaty, subsequent to the conquest of Piedmont, that of Cherasco excepted, a special article was introduced, conferring upon the French the right of choosing the best pieces of painting, sculpture, &c. in the public collections, and of sending them to France.

It was not without regret that Italy ceded these objects of its worship, these pledges of her past glory. To ransom a single painting, that of St. Jerome, the prince of Parma offered a million, which his people would have had to pay. It was at Venice and Rome that the museum of Paris reaped the richest harvest.

After having employed eight days in providing for the army, and in forming a provisional government for Lombardy, Bonaparte left Milan, and a sufficient number of troops to blockade the Austrians in the citadel.

Scarcely had the French left Milan, apparently with the same testimonies of affection on the part of the people as they first received, when General Despinoy, observing that mobs were assembling in the suburbs of the city on the side of Pavia, ordered a party of troops to march thither, whom the rebels attempted to disarm; but, the detachment having wounded and taken some of them, the rest took flight. The *tocsin* was sounded in the country; the priests and nobles excited the massacre of the French commissaries.

A great conspiracy, in fact, seemed to have been forming all through Lombardy, which was finally overthrown. In Pavia, a similar insurrection was quelled. If the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, the general had resolved to raise on the ruins of Pavia a column, on which these words were to be inscribed: "*Here the City of Pavia stood.*" He ordered the municipality to be shot, and two hundred hostages to be arrested, and sent immediately to France.

On the 31st of May, at day-break, the French army arrived at Rivoli, but the enemy had already passed the Adige, and destroyed most of the bridges. In this affair they lost 1500 men and 500 horses. Prince Cuto, general of the Neapolitan cavalry was among the number of prisoners. Thus the Austrians were driven out of Italy, and the French advanced posts reached the German mountains.

The occupation of Verona, which contains three bridges over the Adda, was of the highest importance to Bonaparte. Massena entered this city on the 3d of June, which had been for some time the refuge of Louis Stanislaus, the brother of Louis XVI.

After the passage of the Mincio, and whilst Napoleon was pursuing the enemy in every direction, he entered a castle on the left bank of the river. He was troubled with the head-ache, and bathed his feet. In the mean while a large detachment of the enemy arrived before the castle in great confusion. Napoleon was there, and only a few persons with him; the sentinel on duty at the gate had just time to close it, and cry out, "To arms!" As resistance would have been useless, Napoleon was

obliged to escape through the back gates of the garden, with but one boot on.

In the same campaign, Napoleon incurred another near chance of being taken prisoner. Wurmsers, who had been compelled to throw himself into Mantua, and was debouching suddenly on an open plain, learned from an old woman, that, only some moments before, the French general, with but a few followers, had stopped at her door, and that he had fled at the sight of the Austrians. Wurmsers immediately despatched parties of cavalry in all directions, to whom he gave orders, that, if they came up with Napoleon, he should not be killed or harmed in any way. His destiny and the swiftness of his horse saved him.

Another anecdote is related of Bonaparte, when upon the point of commencing one of his great battles in Italy. As he was disposing his troops in the order of attack, a light dragoon, issuing forth from the ranks, requested of the general a few minutes' private conversation, with which Napoleon acquiesced, when the soldier thus addressed him:—"General, if you proceed to adopt such and such measures, the enemy must be defeated."

"Wretched man!" exclaimed Bonaparte, "hold your tongue; you will not, sure, betray my secret!" at the same time placing his hand before the mouth of the dragoon.

The simple fact is, that the soldier in question was possessed of an inherent military capacity, and appreciated every arrangement necessary to ensure victory. The battle terminating in favour of Napoleon, he issued orders that the poor fellow should be conducted to his presence; but all search after him proved fruitless; he was no where to be found

After the affair of Borghetto, Beaulieu lost no time in passing the Adige, not to quit Italy, but to approach Mantua. On the 4th of June, Massena, who had left Peschiera, was master of the fauxbourg and of the tower of Chieriale, after driving the enemy into Mantua. A drummer of twelve years of age distinguished himself by climbing up this tower in the midst of musketry and grape-shot, and opening the door to the French. On the same day, Bonaparte, who had advanced to La Favourite, a pleasure-house belonging to the dukes of Mantua, caused the fauxbourg of St. George to be attacked by General Serrurier, who seized the *tête-du-pont*.

Bonaparte was now disposed to use the relaxation afforded him by the Austrians, in putting a stop to the insurrections which had been gathering in his rear. The secondary powers were disposed to follow the example of the king of Sardinia. Naples treated on the 7th of June. An armistice deprived the Austrian army of two thousand five hundred cavalry, and the English fleet of five ships of the line, and several frigates. This was signed by Prince Pignatelli Belmont, on the part of the king of Naples. A bull issued by the pope disavowed the fanatics who, under the pretext of religion, fomented a civil war in France; in fact, the pope himself entered into negotiations with the excommunicated. Bonaparte, nevertheless, pursued the course of his operations against Rome. Whilst he took possession of Ferrara, Augereau occupied Bologna, and Adjutant-General Vignolle seized upon the castle of Urbino. The popish garrisons in all these places surrendered at the first summons; but not for want of the means of defence



The grand duke, being alarmed, requested the French general to respect a neutral territory. Bonaparte promised not to enter Florence, but to pass through Sienna. On the 26th of June, Vaubois was at Pistoia. Rome was alarmed, as the blood of a French ambassador was still reeking there. Proclamations, demanding vengeance for the death of M. Basseville, and the reconstruction of the capitol, still resounded in the Vatican. The thunders of the church had not been sufficiently powerful to defend the holy city against the Catholic army under the constable of Bourbon; and she did not seem more powerful now against an army perhaps a little less orthodox. Rome submitted to very hard conditions. This was the first time Rome had been made tributary to France; but she was now to pay twenty millions in money and other articles. Notwithstanding the advantages of this treaty were all on the side of France, the approbation of that government was with difficulty obtained. The reduction of Rome was not the only object which Vaubois was charged to accomplish. On the 28th of June, 1796, he took possession of Leghorn.

The grand duke of Tuscany, so far from showing any resentment in consequence of this measure, invited Bonaparte soon after to Florence, where he partook of a splendid entertainment, during which an officer brought him despatches, announcing the surrender of the castle of Milan. The two principal guests, though very differently interested in this affair, possessed a sufficient degree of self-command to prevent the one from expressing his joy, and to enable the other to conceal his mortification.

The revolution that followed at Genoa seemed to arise from the course of events, and did not re

quire the intervention of the French army. A new constitution restored tranquillity.

During the popular agitation that preceded this new establishment, the statues of Andre Doria had been thrown down. The resentment that Bonaparte felt at this act of ingratitude and barbarity, led him to ask, "whether any excess of zeal should lead people to forget their own glory. What barbarous hand could strike that Andre Doria, the founder of your liberty; that hero of patriotism, who refused the sovereignty which was offered him by the emperor of Germany!"

General Beaulieu, finding himself incompetent to withstand a general, "whose mistress was Glory, and whose companion was Plutarch," resigned the command of the army.

General Wurmser, older than Beaulieu, but not less opiated, was charged with restoring the fortune of Austria beyond the Alps. With sixty thousand men under his command, he flattered himself he should be able to envelope the enemy, who had not more than forty-four thousand. Bonaparte, seeing himself in danger of being surrounded, suddenly withdrew his troops from Verona, and by a forced march regained possession of Brescia. In one of these affairs, a Captain Lasalle being made prisoner, and taken before Wurmser, the old general asked him what might be the age of Bonaparte. "He is," said this officer, "of the same age as Scipio when he conquered Hannibal."

These partial advantages did not alarm Bonaparte. Wurmser's march had scarcely commenced, when Napoleon formed the plan, to which he not only owed his safety, but that series of successes which were crowned by the victory of Castiglione

The Austrians being now masters of the heights and left bank of the Adige, the French could no longer retain possession of Verona, without exposing the troops to the hazard of being surrounded. Bonaparte therefore ordered them to fall back, and assembled all his forces at Roverbella.

At this period the left of the French army under Joubert and Massena had been beaten, and the two generals obliged to retreat under the walls of Peschiera. Napoleon, pressed in all directions, saw his communications with France nearly cut off; he was, besides, placed between two armies, each more numerous than his own. Brescia, his principal magazine, was taken. Milan, fifteen leagues in the rear of the enemy, was of no use to him. In this situation, the soldiers were astonished, when assembled in the presence of their chief, to find no alteration in his countenance.

"Fear nothing," said Napoleon—"show that you remain unchanged: preserve your valour, your just pride, and the remembrance of your triumphs, and in three days we shall retake all that we have lost. Rely on me; you know whether or not I am in the habit of keeping my word."

The enthusiasm of the army being now equal to its surprise, Napoleon immediately availed himself of circumstances, and conceived one of those plans which alone would be sufficient to constitute him a great general. He totally abandoned the line of the Adige, gave Augereau orders to march on Brescia, and told his soldiers, "that, if they wished to obtain the victory, it was with their legs alone that it could now be gained." Napoleon gave a little repose to his troops, strengthened himself as much as possible, opened a communication with Serruri-

er, and prescribed the movements which he should adopt. He ordered his brother Louis to take possession of the bridge of St. Mark with two battalions and on his return he despatched him in the greatest haste to Paris, with an account of what had taken place. "Every thing is now made good," said he. "To-morrow I shall give battle; the success will be complete, as the most difficult part of the task is over. I have no time to write long despatches; describe all that you have seen."

Louis accordingly left Brescia before the battle. A few hours after his arrival at Paris, a courier brought the details of the great victory gained by his brother at Castiglione. As a mark of their satisfaction, the Directory conferred the rank of captain upon Louis.

In this memorable battle, Napoleon contrived to turn all the successes gained by Wurmser to the advantage of the French army.

The battle of Lonado occurred on the 3d of August. Junot, Bonaparte's first aid-de-camp, was sent in pursuit of the fugitive Austrians, at the head of a company of guides. Coming up with the hussars of Bender, he had already wounded their colonel, when, attacked on all sides, he was thrown into a ditch covered with wounds, but not till he had killed six of the enemy with his own hands. Still, apparently with the voice of a dying man, he continued to exclaim, "You are all my prisoners." From this situation he was relieved by his dragoons, and conveyed to the head-quarters.

On this day the Austrians lost twenty pieces of cannon, three or four thousand men killed and wounded, and four thousand prisoners, and among these three generals. The French had to lament

the death of General Bayran, whose probity was equal to his courage.

Wurmser, who was still able to collect 25,000 men, and a numerous cavalry, indulged the hope of retrieving his fortunes. Bonaparte on his side was making arrangements for a general engagement, and for that purpose repaired to Lonado, to see what troops he could collect there. He had scarcely entered, when an Austrian flag of truce arrived to summon the commandant to surrender. The place was in fact surrounded by forces much superior to those within it. This was an embarrassing situation for Bonaparte; however, by a stroke of genius, he disengaged himself with *eclat*. Ordering the officer who brought the flag of truce to be brought before him, and to have the bandage taken from his eyes, "Your general-in-chief," said he, "has the presumption to summon the general-in-chief of the army of Italy! Let him advance. If he presume to insult the French army, I am here to avenge it. Tell him that he and his corps are my prisoners; that one of his own columns is cut off at Salo, and another by the passage of Brescia to Trent, and that if in eight minutes he does not lay down his arms, he shall be shot with his whole corps. Undeceive your commander, and let him see General Bonaparte at the head of his brave republican army; tell your general that will be the highest reward he can expect."

While every one was preparing for the attack, the commander of the enemy's army requested a capitulation. "No," replied Bonaparte; "you are a prisoner of war." The commandant wished to expostulate, but already the light artillery were advancing, and he cried out, "We yield." Thus

1200 French gained a victory over 4000 of the enemy's well arranged force, and defended also by four pieces of cannon.

At five in the morning of the 5th of August, the two armies were in presence of each other. Bonaparte, by a retrograde motion, having drawn Wurmser after him, Serrurier's division turned and attacked his left. This battle terminated what has been called "The Campaign of Five Days," during which Wurmser lost seventy pieces of cannon, and more than twenty thousand men.

Bonaparte, having recovered all his former positions, began to turn his whole attention upon Mantua, and had some thoughts of entering the place by night. Some grenadiers were to embark upon the lake, and seize upon one of the gates, whilst the attention of the besieged was to have been excited by a false attack elsewhere. But, as the water suddenly sunk more than three feet, this project fell to the ground. Bonaparte confided the blockade to General Sahuguet, observing that "operations of this kind depend entirely upon good fortune ; upon a dog or a goose."

Bonaparte took possession of Trent in the name of France, and seized all the property that belonged to the emperor and the prince bishop. The route to the Tyrol had been opened to the French by the battle of Roveredo.

The French, after beating the Austrians in the gorges of the Brenta, at Primolano, at Solagna, and carrying the fort of Covelò, on the 8th of September marched towards Bassano, where Wurmser had his head-quarters. Five thousand prisoners, five standards, thirty-five pieces of cannon, with their caissons, fell into the hands of the French,

and Wurmser himself narrowly escaped being taken with the military chest.

Curious to ascertain the loss of the enemy, Bonaparte in the evening rode over the field with his staff, when their notice was attracted by the howlings of a dog, that seemed to increase in proportion as they approached the spot whence they proceeded. "In the deep silence of a beautiful moonlight night," said the emperor, "a dog, leaping suddenly from beneath the clothes of his dead master, rushed upon us, and then immediately returned to his hiding-place, howling piteously. He alternately licked his master's hand, and ran towards us, as if at once soliciting aid and seeking revenge. Whether owing to my own particular turn of mind at that moment, the time, the place, or the action itself, I know not, but certainly no incident on any field of battle ever produced so deep an impression on me. I involuntarily stopped to contemplate the scene. This man, thought I, has friends in the camp, or in his company, and here he lies forsaken by all except his dog."

## CHAPTER V.

*Victories of the French—Sorties from Mantua—Dreadful Situation of that City—War between the Population of Italy and the Austrians—Excesses at Bologna and Genoa—Anniversary of the French Republic celebrated at Milan—Battle of Arcole—Anecdotes—The sleeping Sentinel—Death of Colonel Muiron.*

IN the course of six days the French army had gained six victories. Out of the sixty thousand men, with which Wurmser was to reconquer Italy, only ten thousand remained after the battle of Bassano; these he sent to Verona, which they were prevented from entering by General Kilmaine.

Wearied of opposing *sorties*, Bonaparte confined himself to a strict blockade of Mantua.

By the end of September, there were not more than sixteen thousand men in Mantua able to bear arms. The public establishments were not capable of receiving the sick; but, being distributed in the private houses, the whole city might be considered as one vast hospital. After a brisk cannonade, on the 23d, the Imperialists were routed by the republican infantry, who took eleven hundred prisoners and five pieces of cannon. On the 1st of October, the French attacked the Austrians in their advanced posts of Cereze and Pradella.

On the night of the 18th, the Austrians endeavoured to scale the intrenchments of St. George's, but, being unsuccessful, all their attempts terminated here.



About this time, the general administration of Lombardy solicited permission from General Bonaparte to form a legion to act with the republican army, and to march against the common enemy.

The inhabitants of Modena, abandoned by their duke, proclaimed their independence. This was first done at Reggio, an example which was soon followed at Ferrara and Bologna. Soon after this, under the auspices of Bonaparte, the union of Modena, Reggio, Bologna, and Ferrara, was declared at a general congress. A second congress, held at Reggio, ultimately proclaimed the definitive reunion of the duchies and legations, under the name of the Cispadane republic.

Great excesses took place at Bologna on the day when the tree of liberty was planted; the populace crowded to the houses of the rich, and persons of easy circumstances, to collect money, &c., as they pretended, to purchase wine, for the purpose of rejoicing. Bonaparte, however, arrived, and put an end to this disorder. All the monks not belonging to the convents in Bologna were ordered to quit the city in three days; but they were provided with money sufficient to bear their charges to Rome.

Genoa next drew the attention of Bonaparte. He now wrote to the Genoese government with the dignity and spirit always belonging to his character. "The city of Genoa," said he, "is the focus from whence those wretches proceed who infest the highways, assassinate the French, and intercept our convoys. The governor of Novi protects them: I demand that the Genoese government shall make an example of him. If you do not take measures for this end, I shall. I will burn both villages and towns upon any territory where one single French

man has been assassinated. I will burn the houses that afford refuge to assassins. I will punish those negligent magistrates who violate the first principle of neutrality, in granting an asylum to the brigands. The assassination of one single Frenchman shall bring destruction upon whole communities who shall not have protected the French."

This minister took refuge in the Imperial fiefs. The focus of intrigue, it seems, had only been removed.

As nothing escaped the penetration of Bonaparte, he soon discovered this den: a detachment was ordered against it; however, three hundred of the banditti, with the English and German diplomatis, had time to escape.

Bonaparte soon after celebrated at Milan the anniversary of the foundation of the French republic. Taking those games and ceremonies that were used at Athens and Rome for models, this *fête* was extremely magnificent. Josephine, the spouse of General Bonaparte, assisted, and, by her graces, attempered the austerity of the military *cortege* which encircled her spouse.

It was at this time he wrote to the emperor of Germany, to propose peace.

The command of the new Austrian army had been conferred on Field-Marshal Alvinzi: this consisted of 45,000 men, which, with those that could be drawn from Mantua, might amount to 60,000. To these Bonaparte could oppose only 30,000. 8300 formed the blockade of Mantua. Augereau had 8000 men upon the Adige. Massena was posted between Bassano and Trevisa with 9000. Vaubois, with 10,000, guarded the defiles of the Tyrol; and

Menard, with 2000 men as a reserve, occupied the town of Brescia, with 1800 cavalry in the vicinity

Determined to push forwards, Davidovich attacked Vaubois near Calliano, who was obliged to evacuate this village in the night, leaving six pieces of cannon. Upon the reception of this intelligence, Bonaparte hastened to Verona. Alvinzi had taken the same route. On the 11th of November Bonaparte marched to meet the Austrians. Augereau came up with their advanced guard within two leagues of Verona, and routed them. On the 12th, the two armies were in presence. Supported on the left by the village of Caldiero, and upon the right by Olivetto, the positions of the enemy's first line were highly advantageous, and, at the instant when it was presumed the intention of the French was to come to a general action, the Austrian corps at Villa Nuova had orders to begin its march. At day-break, Massena attacked the enemy's right, and Augereau, on the left, made himself master of Caldiero.

The progress of the Austrians had been stopped but they had not retreated: it was necessary to vanquish them, but of this Bonaparte almost despaired.

But with Bonaparte discouragement was not despair; triumph often awaited him when he seemed to be upon the very brink of ruin. Alvinzi had approached Verona on the 15th of November, and flattered himself that he could carry the place by assault, although General Kilmaine had 1500 men there. Bonaparte, descending the Adige to Ronco, passed upon this point with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, and took his route to Villa Nuova, with the view of seizing the enemy's baggage

and his parks of artillery, whom he meant to attack on the flanks and in the rear.

At ten o'clock on the 17th, the action became general. The Austrians lost 13,000 men in this battle, including 5000 prisoners, and eighteen pieces of cannon.

The loss of the French was less considerable in numbers than in the importance of those that fell during these three days. The great art of the general-in-chief on this occasion, having but 13,000 men to oppose to 40,000, was to maintain the combat in the midst of a morass, where the enemy could not deploy. On the third day of this battle, November 17th, the 75th having been broken, Bonaparte placed the 32d in an ambuscade, lying on their faces in a little wood of willows along the dike of Arcole. This demi-brigade rose, fired a volley, charged bayonets, and drove into the marsh 3000 Croats, who all perished there.

Las Cases, mentioning the bridge at Arcole, says, "Here Napoleon in person tried a last effort: he seized a standard, rushed towards the bridge, and fixed it there. A cry is heard of 'Soldiers! forward to rescue the general!' These brave men instantly turn, and rush upon the enemy; they drive them *beyond the bridge*, and Napoleon is saved."

Napoleon acknowledged, whilst at St. Helena, "that he considered himself in the greatest danger at Arcole; his horse was shot under him; when rendered furious by the wound, the animal seized the bit between his teeth, and galloped on towards the enemy. In the agonies of death he plunged into a morass, and expired, leaving his rider nearly up to his neck in the swamp, and in a situation from

which, as he could not extricate himself, he thought the Austrians would have come and cut off his head, which appeared just above the surface."

After these three hard fought days of Arcole, Bonaparte surprised "the sleeping sentinel." Napoleon, who offered up his own repose as a sacrifice for the more imperious calls of promptitude and glory, proceeded, alone, to visit the outskirts of the camp, and in this survey arrived at the spot where lay extended the sleeping sentinel, who could hardly be deemed guilty of a breach of duty, but the unwilling victim of extreme fatigue, that totally overpowered him. Bonaparte, unmindful of his dignity, and actuated only by noble motives, took up the soldier's musket, which laid beside him; when, placing it upon his own shoulder, he continued to mount guard for nearly an hour, in order to ensure the safety of the camp. The grenadier at length awoke, and sought for his piece in vain, but, by the light of the moon, perceived the general, who had thus paid respect to his repose.

"Oh! I am undone!" vociferated the soldier, recognising Napoleon, whose lineaments were graven upon the heart of every warrior.

"No, my friend," replied the general, with extreme affability, at the same time surrendering up his musket, "the battle was obstinate, and long enough contested, to excuse your having thus yielded to the impulse of fatigue; one moment of inattention, however, might endanger the safety of the camp: I was awake, and have only to advise, that you would be more upon your guard for the future!"

Among the officers who perished in the battle of Arcole, were Muiron and Elliot, whose names have been consecrated by Bonaparte to immortality.

Bonaparte wrote the following letter to his widow :—"Muiron died by my side at the battle of Arcole. You have lost a husband who was dear to you ; and I have lost a friend to whom I have been long attached ; but the country has lost more than either of us. If I can serve you or his infant in any manner, I hope you will reckon entirely upon me."

## CHAPTER VI.

*Battle of Rivoli—A Duel—Battle of La Favorite—Surrender of Mantua—A German Spy—Affairs of Rome—A Procession—Republic of San Marino—Obelisk in Honour of Virgil—The Archduke Charles—Passage of the Piave and the Tagliamento—Bernadotte—Treaty of Campo Formio—Bonaparte's Return to Paris—Anecdotes—Bonaparte at the Institute at Paris—Increasing Popularity—Jealousy of the Directory—Journey incog.—Rome seized, and the Republic re-established—Conduct of Bernadotte at Vienna—Unpopularity of the Directory—Anniversary of the Execution of Louis XVI.*

THE weakness of the army of Italy did not permit Bonaparte to draw all the advantages he promised himself from the victory of Arcole.

On the 7th of January, 1797, Alvinzi left Bassano, and took his route through the gorges of Brenta to Roveredo, where he joined his right wing, and descended into the valley of the Adige.

On the 14th, before day-light, the battle of Rivoli commenced. Alvinzi saved himself with difficulty. In two days the French had taken 13,000 men and nine pieces of cannon.

It is said that Bonaparte passed the night preceding the battle of Rivoli in a state of uncertainty and indecision; at length, on receiving fresh reports, he exclaimed, "*It is clear—it is clear: to Rivoli!*" All his orders were given *viva voce*, to save time.

In the affair of Anguari, a commander of the Austrian hussars insolently summoned Colonel Durivier to surrender—"Come and take me," was the reply: the troops under both seemed to separate spontaneously, to give way to the combatants: two blows with the sabre brought the Austrian colonel

to the ground, and his overthrow was soon followed by that of his regiment.

Bonaparte, writing to the Directory, said, 'In four days the army of the republic has been conquerors in two pitched battles and four combats. They have made 25,000 prisoners, among whom are a lieutenant-general, two generals, and from twelve to fifteen colonels. We have taken twenty standards, and killed and wounded at least 6000 of the enemy.' The 75th, at the battle of La Favorite, refused cartridges; "With such enemies as we have before us," said they, "we must only use the bayonet."

Mantua, compelled by famine and disease, opened its gates on the 2d of February, 1797. The garrison had devoured 5000 horses, and there was only two days of such provisions in the place. Wurmser and his suite excepted, the garrison were made prisoners of war. Ammunition and cannon to an immense amount were found in the place, and, among the latter, those parks that Bonaparte had abandoned when he marched to Castiglione; thus realizing his prediction when he said to Berthier, pointing to this cannon and to that on the ramparts. "We shall soon retake all that are here, and take all that are there."

A German was taken, endeavouring to obtain an entrance. Suspected of being a spy, he was searched by the soldiers, who found nothing upon him, but menaced him in French, which he did not understand. At length a Frenchman, who spoke a little German, was brought, who threatened him with instant death if he did not immediately tell all he knew. He accompanied these threats with violent gestures, drew out his sword, pointed it at the bel-



y of the German, and said he would rip him up. The poor terrified stranger, not perfectly understanding the broken German spoken by the French soldier, thought, when he saw him point his sword at his belly, that his secret was discovered, and cried out that there was no occasion to rip him up, for, if they waited a few hours, they would have it by the course of nature. Some were for giving him a purgative without delay. Two officers were appointed to take charge of him, and in two hours the wished-for article was found, rolled up in wax, about the size of a hazel-nut. When unrolled, this proved to be a letter from the Emperor Francis to General Wurmser.

On the day preceding the surrender, Bonaparte published a proclamation, reproaching the pope with subterfuge and perfidy; declaring the armistice at an end, and recalling the French ambassador from Rome.

When the French army were approaching Rome in this year, the papal government prepared to resist them, not by a *levy en masse*, but by a procession of sacred relics, viz. *Il santo Volto*, a miraculous portrait of the Saviour, and a *Santa Maria*, a portrait of the Virgin, both supposed to have been painted by supernatural agency: to these were added the *chains* which St. Peter wore in prison when the angel delivered him. This procession was attended by nearly the whole population of Rome, of all ranks, ages, and sexes, the greater part barefooted.

On Bonaparte's return from Tolentino, he presented the republic of St. Marino with four pieces of cannon, in the name of the French republic; exempted her citizens in the Romagna from all con-

tributions, and directed a supply of corn to be delivered to the inhabitants gratuitously.

He did not do himself less honour by the attention which he paid to the genius of Virgil. The surrounding fields, which, by the generosity of Augustus, became the patrimony of the prince of poets, are still called the Virgilian fields. These Bonaparte ordered should be exempt from all contributions, and their cultivators indemnified for all the losses they had sustained by the war. An obelisk was erected to the memory of Virgil in the midst of a wood of oaks, myrtles and laurels, the inauguration of which was performed with all the pomp of a triumph.

The Archduke Charles had now taken the command of the Austrian army.

Bonaparte began to advance on the 10th of March: in order to leave Italy, he had a variety of obstacles to encounter, not less difficult than those that had opposed his entrance.

The army was soon in march towards the Piave, a deep and rapid river, which some of the divisions passed on the 13th of March; and drove the Austrians to Sacile, where they came up with their rear guard, from whom they made 100 prisoners. A soldier, carried away by the current, had nearly been drowned, but was saved by a female sutler. Bonaparte presented this courageous woman with a golden necklace, to which a civic crown was suspended, with the name of the soldier that had been saved.

On the 16th of March, all the divisions were collected at Valvasone. The archduke's army was intrenched on the other side of the Tagliamento. In the passage of this river, Bonaparte himself was so

nearly drowned by the submersion of his carriage, but for some moments he gave up all thoughts of life.

The affair of Gradisca was the first in which the division of Bernadotte had borne a part.

He arrived upon the borders of the Tagliamento just at the moment of fighting. Throwing himself into the river, "Soldiers!" he exclaimed, "think that you are the army of the Rhine, and that the army of Italy is looking on you." Bernadotte was then a citizen and a soldier, raised by his merit to the first rank in the army. On the 21st of March, the French entered Goritz.

Since the opening of this campaign, Prince Charles had lost nearly 20,000 men made prisoners, and the Austrians could now make no stand, except in the mountains in the neighbourhood of Vienna. A letter written by Bonaparte to the Archduke Charles, proposing peace, had been answered by that prince's assuring him that he was not invested, on the part of the emperor, with any powers for treating. Two hours after the receipt of this letter, and while the French troops were on their march to Freisach, the archduke requested a suspension of arms for four hours; a proposition entirely inadmissible, as it was obviously made to gain the whole day.

The definitive treaty of Campo Formio was signed on the 17th of October following. Thus the sword, which had been first drawn in the month of May, 1792, and which for six successive years had desolated continental Europe, was partially, but by no means permanently, restored to the scabbard.

Bonaparte returned to Paris on the 20th of November, 1797, where he was hailed with the most rapturous applause by the people.

Napoleon according to Las Cases, declared that he returned from the campaign of Italy, in 1797, with no more than 300,000 francs in his possession though he might easily have brought ten or twelve millions. He expected, after his arrival in France to have received some great national reward.

Just before Napoleon left the army of Italy, Madame Bonaparte furnished a small house in the Rue Chantereine, which the Directory ordered to be called the Rue de la Victoire. Here, it is said, he was much surprised and mortified, to find that the drawing-room furniture, which appeared to be nothing uncommon, was charged at the enormous rate of between 120 and 130 francs. But when he came to see the upholsterer's directions, and found that every article was to be of the very best kind, made after new designs invented expressly for the house, he felt himself bound to pay the bill. The disposition for inquiring into the price of articles, was indulged by Bonaparte even at the period of his greatest prosperity. On one occasion, when he returned to the Tuilleries, which had been magnificently fitted up during his absence, he walked up to a window overhung with a rich curtain, and, asking some of the attendants for a pair of scissors, he cut off a superb gold acorn, which was suspended from the drapery, and, coolly putting it into his pocket, he continued his inspection of the furniture, to the astonishment of all present, who were not a little puzzled to find out his motives. Some days afterwards, at his levee, he drew the acorn from his pocket, and gave it to the person who superintended the furnishing of the palace. "Here," said he "Heaven forbid that I should think you rob me; but some one has doubtless robbed you—you have paid

for this at the rate of one third above its value. They have dealt with you as though you had been the steward of a great nobleman. You would have made a better bargain if you had not been known." Napoleon, it seems, had walked out one morning in disguise, and visited some of the shops in the Rue St. Denis, where he asked the price of ornaments similar to that which he had cut from the curtain.

Soon after Bonaparte's return from the army of Italy, he took his place in the Institute at Paris, and considered himself as the tenth member in his class, which consisted of about fifty. A circumstance which attracted considerable notice at the time, was, to see the young general of the army of Italy publicly discussing profound metaphysical subjects with his colleagues in the Institute. He was then called the geometrician of battles, and the mechanician of victory.

People flocked to the sittings of the Institute to see the general, who never failed to be present. When he went to the theatre he was always in a private box.

The troops returning to France made him the subject of their songs, in which they raised him to the skies. These verses expressed a wish that the lawyers should be turned out, and the general made king. Under these circumstances, it was not surprising that jealousy should exist on the part of the Directory.

The Directory had at first the intention of sending him to Rastadt, to relieve them from the responsibility of the congress then sitting there; but the general refused this mission, urging that it was not fit that the same hand should direct the pen and the sword. Afterwards the Directory appoint-

ed him commander of the army of England, which served to conceal from the eyes of the enemy the plan and preparations for the expedition to Egypt.

The troops composing this army of England covered Normandy, Picardy, and Belgium. Bonaparte travelled through, and inspected the whole of them *incognito*. He every where found himself the object of every conversation, and of general expectation. At Antwerp, he first conceived the great maritime ideas which he afterwards put in execution there, and formed that of the new canal at St. Quentin.

About this time, the miserable court of Rome, provoked rather than corrected by the treaty of Tolentino, quarrelled with the Cisalpine republic. Duphot, a French general, who happened to be in Rome as a traveller, was murdered at the door of Joseph Bonaparte, the French ambassador, who thought it prudent to retire to Florence.

Napoleon, being consulted, said it was necessary to chastise Rome, but not destroy it: not being listened to, an army was sent to seize Rome, and establish the Roman republic. The executive power was vested in three consuls; a senate and a tribunate composed the legislative. Fourteen cardinals attended at the church of St. Peter, and even sang a *Te Deum* in commemoration of this event, which was nothing less than the abolition of the temporal authority of the pope.

Bernadotte, some time before this, having been very imprudently sent ambassador to Vienna, one day most unaccountably caused the tri-coloured flag to be hoisted on his house in that city: but this of course was torn down, and himself insulted by the populace.

At this time, so unpopular were the Directory, that Bonaparte had been solicited by a party composed of deputies possessing influence in the two councils, patriots of Fructidor, who sought a protector general, the most powerful and most enlightened, to stir and put himself at the head of the republic; but he refused, because he felt he was not strong enough to go alone.

The 21st of January, 1798, was the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. Bonaparte was solicited to appear at this ceremony. He went to the church of St. Sulpice, merely as a member of the Institute, but was discovered, after which all eyes were fixed exclusively on him. When the festival was over, the Directory were allowed to go out quite alone; the multitude remained, and made the sky resound with "Long live the general of the army of Italy!"

On the eve of Napoleon's departure for Egypt, he became possessed of Malmaison, and there he deposited nearly all his property: he purchased it in the name of his wife, who was older than himself, and consequently, in case of his surviving her, he must have forfeited all claim to it. The fact is as he himself has said, that he never had a taste nor desire for riches

## CHAPTER VII.

*Expedition to Egypt—Proclamation—Alexandria taken—Battle of the Pyramids—Cairo surrenders—Naval Battle at Aboukir—Anecdote—Excursion to Suez and the Red Sea—Siege of St. Jean d'Acre—Sir Sidney Smith—Caffarelli—The Angel El-Mahdy—Shooting of the Turkish Prisoners—Plague at Jaffa—Anecdotes—Bonaparte's Departure from Egypt, and Arrival in France—Plans for making Discoveries in Africa, and for constructing Canals in Egypt.*

THE Directory now carried into effect the most fatal of all their projects, that of sending a powerful army to the East, to seize upon Egypt, and thence to attack the British empire in India.

The projected invasion of Egypt was conducted with much secrecy, while the world was amused with tales of *monstrous rafts* constructed to convey the army of *England* over to Britain.

Napoleon arrived at Toulon on the 10th of May, 1798. Previous to his sailing, he addressed a proclamation to his army.

When all was in readiness, Bonaparte, on the 20th of May, embarked with 40,000 veterans, mostly from the army of Italy, without reckoning artists, savans, and others. When in sight of the island of Gazzo, they were joined by a convoy from Civita Vecchia. The first operation was the taking of Malta, which surrendered to them on the 12th of June.

In the evening of the 30th, the fleet arrived within a few leagues of Alexandria: Bonaparte issued a proclamation, dated from the ship *l'Orient*, wherein he recommended the strictest discipline, a respect for personal property, and for the religion of the country they were about to land in. The following is an extract from this proclamation:



"The people whom we are going amongst are Mahometans; the first article of their faith runs thus—*There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.* Do not contradict them; act with them as we have done with the Jews, and with the Italians; pay respect to their muftis and their imans, the same as you have to rabbies and bishops; show the same tolerance for their mosques, and all the ceremonies prescribed by their Alcoran, as you have already shown for convents and synagogues, for the religion of Moses, and for that of Jesus Christ."

At length, the French disembarked at Alexandria, which they attacked, and which capitulated, after a dreadful carnage; the inhabitants, however, were respected by their conquerors, their commander concluded a treaty with the Arabs, and, so far from opposing their religious customs, he spoke of Mahomet as an extraordinary personage, who was worthy of the homage of all nations. In his first proclamation to the Alexandrians there is found this remarkable passage:

"Cadies, Cheicks, Imans, Tehorbajas, tell your people that we are the true Mussulmans. Was it not we that overthrew the power of the pope?"

From Alexandria the army took the road to Cairo, and defeated the Arabs and Mamelukes, who had gathered together to dispute with them the passage to Rhamania and Chabrane.

In the morning of the 10th July, the army came in sight of the Pyramids, and at night they were within six leagues of Cairo. They found twenty-three beys intrenched with all their force at Embabe; Bonaparte caused them to be attacked in their intrenchments, by General Dessaix and Ran.

pon; and, notwithstanding their fine appearance and some *sorties*, victory declared in favour of the French. Almost all the Mamelukes were slain; two thousand cavalry, and the greater number of the beys, fell on this day: their leader, Murad Bey was wounded in the cheek. More than fifty pieces of cannon, and four hundred loaded camels, became the spoil of the conquerors.

This brilliant victory was followed by the surrender of Cairo, on the 22d of July.

On the 1st of August, 1798, the battle of Aboukir, so fatal to the French navy, took place.

Ibrahim Bey fled towards Syria, where Bonaparte resolved to pursue him with vigour.

Being accompanied by many officers of his staff and others, he visited the grand pyramid of Cheops, attended by many muftis and imams. It was on this occasion, that, beholding the aspect of these imperishable masses, he cried out "From the top of these pyramids, forty ages behold us!"

On the 26th of December, 1798, Bonaparte arrived at Suez; the following day was spent in viewing the town and coast, and ordering such works and fortifications as he deemed necessary for their defence. On the 28th of December, he passed the Red Sea at a ford near Suez, which is practicable at low water, and proceeded to the fountains of Moses, about three leagues and a half from Suez, in Asia. He returned the same evening to Suez, but, it being high water, he was obliged to ascend to the extremity of the Red Sea. This route was the more tedious, from the guide having lost his way in the marshes, where they were sometimes up to the middle in water. Thus, like a second Pharaoh, he narrowly escaped drowning. "This," said

ne, "would have furnished all the preachers of Christianity with a splendid text against me." On reaching the Arabian coast, he received a deputation of the Cenobite monks of Mount Sinai, who came to implore his protection, and to request him to inscribe his name on the ancient register of their charters, with which he complied.

Having quitted Suez on the 30th December, 1798, he proceeded in a northerly direction, and discovered, at the distance of two leagues and a half, some vestiges of the entrance of the canal of Suez. He rested at the fort of Adjeroud on the following day, at the distance of ten leagues in the desert, and on the 1st of January, 1799, he arrived at Belbeis; on the 3d, he advanced to the Oasis of Mount Horeb, where he discovered further remains of the canal of Suez; this was near its entrance into the irrigated and fruitful lands of Egypt. He traced the course of the canal for the space of several leagues, and ascertained that some extraordinary change has altered the level of the Mediterranean, since that is twenty-four feet lower than the Red Sea.

About the 17th of March, 1799, Napoleon, after having defeated the Mamelukes, and taken possession of Alexandria and Cairo, led a detachment of 12,000 men into Palestine, with the intention, it has been said, of taking possession of Jerusalem, and restoring the Jews. Acre is a small town on the sea-coast, thirty-seven miles north of Jerusalem. To this town, which was wretchedly fortified, and garrisoned only by a few Turks, he laid siege in form, and the governor would have surrendered at discretion, had he not been assisted by Sir Sidney Smith, and several ships of war, to make a vigorous

resistance. By the persevering valour of the British, and the brute force of their semi-barbarous allies, Bonaparte was detained before Acre sixty-nine days. Foiled in eleven different attempts to carry the place by assault, and losing upon an average sixty men a day, he was ultimately obliged to retreat.

At this siege a shell, thrown by Sir Sidney Smith, fell close at Bonaparte's feet. Two soldiers, who were near him, seized and closely embraced him before and behind, making a rampart of their bodies against the effects of the shell, which exploded, and overwhelmed them all with sand. Neither of these soldiers were wounded.

Napoleon travelled on a dromedary the greater part of the way through the desert to Syria. The dromedary regiments, formed by the general, were very destructive to the Arabs; but, though he is not a beast of draught, but only of burden, the French in Syria were skilful enough to yoke him to their field-pieces.

After experiencing fatigues almost incredible, he gave orders for the departure of the army, and the 15th of June they arrived at Cairo.

Sir Sidney Smith dispersed proclamations among the French troops, which certainly shook the faith of some of them; and Bonaparte in consequence published an order, stating that he was *mad*.

At St. Jean d'Acre the general-in-chief lost Caffarelli, of whom he was extremely fond. Caffarelli, who entertained a kind of reverential respect for Napoleon, was delirious several days before his death; yet, when the latter visited him, the announcement of his name seemed to recall him to life; he became more collected, his spirits revived

and he conversed coherently ; but always relapsed into his former state when Napoleon left him.

About this time a scene of a new kind took place, and which occasioned a revolt in the province of Eakhyreh. A man, who came from the interior of Africa, landed at Deruch, and when he arrived he assembled the Arabs together, telling them he was the angel El-Mahdy, spoken of in the Koran by the prophets. Two hundred Meyhrebys arrived some days after, as if by chance, and ranged themselves under his command. It had been prophesied that the angel El-Mahdy was to come down from heaven, and this impostor pretended that he descended in the midst of the desert. Though he appeared naked and destitute, he distributed gold in abundance, which he had the art of concealing. The sole nourishment he seemed to take, was from dipping his fingers every morning into a bowl of milk, and then putting them to his lips : he went to Damenhour, surprised sixty men belonging to the Nautical Legion, that had been imprudently left there, instead of being placed in the redoubt of Rhamania, and strangled them all : encouraged by this success, he heated the imagination of his disciples, and he boasted that, by throwing a little dust on our guns, he could prevent the powder from taking fire, and cause the shot to fall harmless before the true believers. A hundred such miracles were attested by his followers to have been performed by him every day.

The angel El-Mahdy, wounded in several places, felt his zeal much abated ; he hid himself in the wilderness, where he was yet surrounded by many of his disciples, for the heads of fanatics are generally bereft of the organs of reason.

As to the charge of shooting three or four thousand Turks some days after the taking of Jaffa, Napoleon said there were not so many; they did not amount to more than 1000 or 1200. The reason was, that, amongst the garrison of Jaffa, a number of Turkish troops were discovered, taken a short time before at El Arish, and sent to Bagdat upon their parole not to serve again; but these Turks, instead of proceeding to Bagdat, threw themselves into Jaffa. However, before Bonaparte attacked Jaffa, he sent an officer bearing a flag of truce, whose head immediately afterwards they saw elevated on a pole over the wall. Now, if spared again he inferred the same Turks would have gone to St. Jean d'Acre, and played the same part over again: therefore, in justice to the lives of his soldiers, he could not act otherwise than as he did: he therefore availed himself of the rights of war.

Previous to leaving Jaffa, seven or eight men were found so dangerously ill, as not to admit the possibility of their recovery; they had the plague, and might spread the infection. Some of them, perceiving that they were to be abandoned, earnestly entreated to be put to death. Baron Larrey, the chief surgeon, who knew they could not survive many hours, thought it would be an act of charity to comply with their desires. Desgenettes did not approve of this, saying his profession was to cure the sick, not to despatch them. At length, according to Larrey's suggestion, a rear guard of four or five hundred cavalry were ordered to remain behind, to prevent these unfortunate men from being tortured by the Turks. The story of poisoning is supposed to have originated in something said by Desgenettes, afterwards misconceived or incor

rectly reported. "Do you think," said Napoleon to Mr. O'Meara, "that if I had been capable of secretly poisoning my soldiers, or of such barbarity as drawing my carriage over the dead, and the still bleeding bodies of the wounded, that my troops would have fought for me with an enthusiasm and affection without parallel. No, no; I never should have fought a second time. Even some of the wounded, with strength enough left to pull a trigger, would have despatched me."

Napoleon became so popular among some of the Egyptians, that they gave him the name of Sultan Keber (Father of the Fire.) He always shared the fatigues of the army; and their privations were sometimes so great, that they were compelled to contend with each other for the smallest comforts. Once, in the desert, the soldiers would scarcely allow the general to dip his hands in a muddy stream of water. Passing the ruins of Pelusium, almost suffocated with the heat, a soldier gave up to him a fragment of an ancient door-way, beneath which he contrived to shade his head for a few minutes; "and this," said Napoleon, "was no trifling favour."

The discontent of the French troops in Egypt, which was at times very high, was happily spent in jokes and sarcasms. General Caffarelli, supposed to have been one of the promoters of the expedition, was by no means liked. He had a wooden leg, having lost the other on the banks of the Rhine. Whenever the soldiers saw him hobbling along, they would say, loud enough for him to hear, "That fellow cares for nothing amongst us: he is certain happen what may, to have one leg in France."

In reference to the six or seven acres of land that Bonaparte had promised his troops on his de

parture from France, when they afterwards found themselves in the midst of the desert, surrounded by the boundless ocean of sand, they pretended to cheer one another with a view of it; they said their general "had been very moderate in promising so little; he might have made us a more unlimited offer; we should not abuse his good nature." On their first entering the desert, they called to one another to look at the six acres awarded to each of them by the government.

But though the devotedness and attachment of the army of Egypt had evidently performed so much for their general-in-chief, we have his own authority for asserting, that no army was less fit for that quarter of the world. It would be difficult to describe the disgust, the discontent, the melancholy, the despair of that army, on its first arrival in Egypt. Bonaparte saw two dragoons rush out of the ranks, and throw themselves into the Nile. Bertrand had seen the most distinguished generals, such as Lannes and Murat, in momentary fits of rage, throw their laced hats in the sand, and trample on them. "This army," said Napoleon, "had been satiated with wealth, rank, pleasure, and consideration; they were not fit for the deserts and fatigues of Egypt." More than one conspiracy was formed to carry away the flags from Alexandria, and other things of the same sort. The influence, the character, and the glory of the general, could alone restrain the troops. One day, Napoleon, losing his temper in his turn, rushed among a group of discontented generals, and, addressing himself to the tallest, said, "You have held mutinous language; take care that I don't fulfil my duty; your five foot ten should not save you from being shot in a couple of hours"



Las Cases says, the French force, at its landing in Egypt, amounted to 30,000 men: it was augmented by the wrecks of the naval battle of the Nile, and some partial arrivals from France, and yet the total loss of the army amounted only to eight thousand nine hundred and fifteen; viz.—

Killed in battle	-	-	-	3614
Died of their wounds	-	-	-	854
Died through various accidents				290
Died from common disorders	-			2468
Died from the pestilential fever				1689
Total	-			8915

The address and the justice of Napoleon, considered as a conqueror, had wonderfully attached the Mahometans in Egypt to his interest. In a letter written to him by the sherif of Mecca, he is styled, "The protector of the holy Kaaba."

On the 22d of August, 1799, he received a letter from Admiral Gantheaume, informing him that the English and Turkish fleets had sailed. A journey into the Delta was immediately spoken of at headquarters. Bonaparte would be absent, it was said only a few days; his object being to visit that fertile part of Egypt, and promote the establishment of canals, which had been so long neglected.

In writing to the Divan, and announcing his departure, he said, "remind the Mussulmen frequently of my love for them. Acquaint them that I have two great means to conduct men—persuasion and force; with the one I gain friends, and with the other I destroy my enemies." Upon General Kleber he conferred the command of the army. On the 23d of August, 1799, accompanied by the Generals Berthier, Murat, Lannes, and Marmont, he

embarked on board the frigates *La Muiron* and *La Carere*, leaving the following proclamation behind him :

“Soldiers! The affairs of Europe recall me to France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber. The army shall soon have intelligence of me. It is painful to leave soldiers to whom I am so much attached ; but it shall not be for long. The general, whom I have left with them, possesses both my confidence and that of government.”

When Bonaparte embarked, an English cutter was in sight of the two frigates ; the officers who accompanied him drew the most dismal presages from this circumstance, and said it would be difficult to escape the vigilance of the enemy.—“True!” exclaimed Bonaparte ; “but we shall arrive—Fortune has never abandoned us ; we shall arrive in spite of the English.” They set sail in the night, and Gantheaume, perfect master of his manœuvres, ranged along the coast of Africa, choosing a longer, but more certain route of navigation.

On the 30th of September, 1799, the two frigates entered the Gulf of Ajaccio. Whilst lying to for a boat they had sent in, a sudden squall obliged them to come to anchor in the gulf, in the native country of Bonaparte. He was thought to have been dead ; and when chance thus brought him home, nothing could be more touching than the reception he experienced : the batteries saluted on all sides ; the whole population rushed to the boats, and surrounded the French frigates ; the public enthusiasm had even triumphed over the fear of infection, and the vessels were immediately boarded by crowds, crying out to Bonaparte, “It is we that save the plague, and must owe our deliverance to

you." Here Bonaparte learned, that the fruits of all his triumphant victories in Italy had been lost in two battles; that the Russians were upon the French frontiers, and that confusion and dismay reigned in the interior.

On the 8th of October, being in sight of the coast of France, they perceived an English fleet of from eight to ten sail. Admiral Gantheaume was desirous to tack about immediately, and return to Corsica.—"No, no," said Bonaparte, "that manœuvre would conduct us to England; and my will is to arrive in France. On the 9th of October, 1799, Bonaparte disembarked near Frejus, in the south of France, after a surprising voyage of forty-one days, and upon a sea covered with the enemy's ships. Here he landed without having performed the customary duty of quarantine, and arrived at Paris on the 16th of October. Nothing could have been more unexpected than this arrival. From the first moment it occurred, the news of it spread with the rapidity of lightning. Scarcely had the flag of a commander-in-chief been displayed, when the shore about Frejus was covered with people, who, in accents of the most intense desire, exclaimed, "Bonaparte!" France herself poured forth her thousands before him who was destined to restore her splendour, and already, from her frontiers, anticipated from him the revenge of Marengo.

Bonaparte, whilst in Egypt, it seems, had received presents from the queen of Darfour, and had sent her some in return. Had he remained longer, he said he would certainly have carried our geographical investigations into the northern district of Africa to a great extent, and that by the simplest means, merely by placing in each caravan some in

telligent officers, for whom he would have procured hostages.

He had several plans in contemplation, for making canals in Egypt. He intended to have made two; one from the Red Sea to the Nile at Cairo, and the other to the Mediterranean. He had the Red Sea surveyed, and found that its waters were thirty feet higher than the Mediterranean when they were highest, but only twenty-four at the lowest. His plan was, to have prevented any water from flowing into the canal, unless at low water, and this, in the course of a distance of thirty leagues, in its passage to the Mediterranean, would have been of little consequence. Besides, he would have had some sluices made. The Nile was seven feet lower than the Red Sea when at its lowest, but fourteen feet higher during the inundation. The expense was calculated at eighteen millions of francs, and two years' labour.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Consequences of Napoleon's Absence in Egypt—Weakness and Division in the Government—Napoleon's Superiority in the Cabinet—Appointed to the Command of the Troops charged with restoring the Tranquillity of Paris—Presents himself to the Council of Ancients—The Dispersion and Resignation of the Directory—The Council of Five Hundred adjourn to St. Cloud—A Storm in the Council of Ancients—Entrance and Speech of Napoleon—Condemnation of the Constitution of the Year III—Violent Proceedings in the Council of Five Hundred—Lucien Bonaparte in personal Danger—Rescued by Napoleon and his Grenadiers—Speech of Lucien—The Dispersion of the Council of Five Hundred—Formation of the new Government and Constitution.*

DURING Bonaparte's absence in Egypt, it is well known how much France missed his military genius, and with what rapturous acclamations he was hailed on his return. No one who recollected the sensation produced by his sudden appearance at Frejus, like a spirit welcomed from another world, could be surprised at the celebrity and triumph of his subsequent career on his return from Elba. His resumption of power at the former period was, taking it altogether, the more wonderful of the two. He was then still a young man. France, no doubt, was in want of a stronger and regenerated government; but still, to establish this, it required unparalleled boldness, and a popularity among a nation of thirty millions, which not more than two or three individuals have ever obtained in the whole history of the world. Though France was divided by factions, yet she had still men of pre-eminent abilities. There was Rœderer, eloquent and trusted for pat-

riotism; there were Barras and Fouché, who had each great influence. There were, besides, a host of formidable politicians: Talleyrand, who alone had sagacity to have guided a kingdom in ordinary circumstances: there were Moreau, Bernadotte, Angereau, and others of high military name; and Sieyes, the cunning and reserved, whose talents were so esteemed by Mirabeau, that, in a debate on a great object, he once declared the silence of Sieyes to be a national calamity. It is quite obvious, however, that all these men, who in other circumstances would have been primary combatants for supreme power, dimmed their ineffectual ray, and bowed their heads to the influence of Bonaparte, from the moment it was supposed that a change in the government was to be expected. He met with them separately; he heard their proposals; he committed himself to none of them. If he could be said to join any thing like a party, it was that of Sieyes; but, until the moment that he was ready to strike the blow of usurpation, he kept them all in suspense. Having matured his plans, he called them together on the 18th of Brumaire, 9th and 10th of November, 1799, and produced one of the most important revolutions recorded in history. His influence over those around him seemed equally electric and irresistible, whether it put in motion the metaphysics of Sieyes or the drumsticks that beat the charge on the Council of Five Hundred.

In fact, many weighty motives existed for effecting a change at this critical period, which might have operated upon the mind of Bonaparte, or any other chief who had the good of his country at heart. He found its government enfeebled to the utmost impotence of childhood, the prey of perpetu-

al caprice and revolutions. He found i w thout an army, and without the resources for prcuring one He found all public spirit evaporated, and the people in a state of civil war with each other. But, what was most wounding to the becoming pride of a warrior, he found all the conquests he had gained in Europe nearly wrested from his country, and subject to the severe requisitions of those armies he had discomfited.

Let us now mark the reverse: by a blow equally illegal, but equally necessary, he boldly put himself in possession of the supreme power, and in six months he new modelled the constitution, revived the national credit, re-animated the public spirit, and from every quarter concentrated the abilities of every man of talent and courage; subdued every civil insurrection, and in six weeks, by gaining the battle of Marengo, re-conquered all that had beer lost. Never was a campaign so well planned and so completely executed.

But that man must know the character of Napoleon very imperfectly, who may consider him only at the head of armies; for so superior and universal was his genius, that he was able to acquit himself of the various functions of government with glory. He shone as conspicuously in the cabinet as in the field. In a word, he united in his own person the various talents and professions of the sword, the gown, and the finances.

The Council of Ancients, naving transferred the sittings of the legislative body to St. Cloud, ordered them to assemble there on the 19th of Brumaire. General Bonaparte, who, they imagined, was wholly in their interest, was charged with the execution of

the decree for the safety of the national representation.

This decree was made at eight o'clock; and at half-past eight, the state messenger who was the bearer of it arrived at the house of Napoleon. He found the avenues filled with the officers of the garrison, adjutants of the National Guard, generals, and the three regiments of cavalry. Napoleon had the folding doors opened; and his house being too small to contain so many persons, he came forward on the steps in front of it, received the compliments of the officers, harangued them, and told them that he relied upon them all for the salvation of France. At the same time he gave them to understand, that the Council of Ancients, under the authority of the constitution, had just conferred on him the command of all the troops; that important measures were in agitation, designed to rescue the country from its alarming situation; that he relied upon their support and good will; and that he was at that moment going to mount his horse to ride to the Tuilleries.

Enthusiasm being wound up, all the officers drew their swords, and promised their service and fidelity. Napoleon then turned towards Lefevre, demanding whether he would remain with him or return to the Directory. Lefevre, powerfully affected, did not hesitate. Napoleon instantly mounted, and placed himself at the head of the generals and officers, and 1500 horse, whom he halted upon the Boulevard, at the corner of the street of Mont Blanc. He gave orders to the adjutants of the National Guard to return to their quarters and beat the *generale*, to communicate the decree they had just heard, and to



announce, that no orders were to be observed but such as should emanate from him.

Napoleon presented himself at the bar of the Council of Ancients, attended by this brilliant escort. "You are the wisdom of the nation," said he; "at this crisis it belongs to you to point out the measures which may save the country: I come, surrounded by all the generals, to promise you their support. I appoint General Levefre my lieutenant: I will faithfully fulfil the task with which you have intrusted me: let us not look into the past for examples of what is now going on. Nothing in history resembles the end of the eighteenth century; nothing in the eighteenth century resembles the present moment."

All the troops were mustered at the Tuilleries. Napoleon reviewed them, amidst the unanimous acclamations of both citizens and soldiers. He gave the command of the troops intrusted with the protection of the legislative body to General Lannes; and to General Murat the command of those sent to St. Cloud.

He deputed General Moreau to guard the Luxembourg; and, for this purpose, he placed under his orders 500 men of the 86th regiment. But, at the moment of setting off, these troops refused to obey: they had no confidence in Moreau, who was not, they said, a patriot. Napoleon was obliged to harangue them, assuring them that Moreau would act uprightly. Moreau had become suspected through his conduct at a former period.

The intelligence that Napoleon was at the Tuilleries, and that he alone was to be obeyed, quickly spread through the capital: the people flew to the Tuilleries in crowds; some led by mere curiosity

to behold so renowned a general, others by patriotic enthusiasm to offer him their support. The following proclamation was every where posted :

“Citizens ! The Council of Ancients, the depository of the national wisdom, has just pronounced a decree : for this it has authority from articles 102 and 103 of the act of the constitution : it imposes upon me the duty of taking measures for the safety of the national representation. The immediate removal of the representation is necessary ; the legislative body will then find itself in a condition to rescue the republic from the danger into which the disorganization of all branches of the administration is conducting us. At this important crisis it requires union and confidence. Rally round it there is no other method of fixing the republic upon the basis of civil liberty, internal happiness, victory and peace.”

Napoleon now sent an aid-de-camp to the guards of the Directory, for the purpose of communicating the decree to them, and enjoining them to receive no order but from him. The guard sounded to horse, the commanding officer consulted his soldiers : they answered by shouts of joy. At this very moment, an order from the Directory, contrary to that of Napoleon, arrived ; but the soldiers, obeying only Napoleon's commands, marched to join him. Sieyes and Roger Ducos had been ever since the morning at the Tuilleries. It is said that Barras, on seeing Sieyes mount his horse, ridiculed the awkwardness of the unpractised equestrian : he little suspected where they were going. Being shortly after apprized of the decree, he joined Gohier and Moulins : they then learned that the troops followed Napoleon : they saw that even their own guard forsook

them! Upon that Moulins went to the Tuilleries, and gave in his resignation, as Sieyes and Roger Ducos had already done. Boutot, the secretary of Barras, went to Napoleon, who warmly expressed his indignation at the peculations which had ruined the republic, and insisted that Barras should resign. Boutot gave him Barras's resignation, and asked him, in a low voice, what hope he might entertain from him. "Tell that man," replied Bonaparte, "that I will not see him again, and that I am well enabled to command due respect to the authority intrusted to me." Then, raising his voice loud enough to be heard even into the anti-chamber, he continued thus to address Boutot, the astonished secretary to Barras: "What have you done," said he, "with the country I left so flourishing? I left you in peace, and I have found you at war: I left you victory, and I have found defeat: I left you conquest, and the enemy are passing our frontiers. I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the 100,000 heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? What is become of them? Alas! they are no more. This state of things cannot continue; in three years it will end in despotism; but we will have a republic founded on the basis of civil liberty, equality, and political toleration."

Talleyrand then hastened to the ex-director, and related this. Barras removed to Gros-Bois, accompanied by a guard of honour of dragoons. From that moment the Directory was dissolved, and Napoleon alone was invested with the executive power of the republic.

In the mean time, the Council of Five Hundred had met, under the presidency of Lucien. The

constitution was explicit; the decree of the Council of Ancients was consistent with its privilege there was no ground for objection. The Members of the council, in passing through the streets of Paris, and through the Tuilleries, had learnt the occurrences which were taking place, and witnessed the enthusiasm of the public. They were astonished and confounded at the ferment around them. They submitted to necessity, and adjourned their sittings to the next day, the 19th, at St. Cloud.

At length, after nearly two days' delay, they met, and opened their sittings. M. Gaudine ascended the tribune, painted in lively colours the dangers of the country, and proposed thanks to the Council of Ancients, for the measures of public safety they had set on foot; and that they should be invited, by message, to explain their intentions fully. At the same time, he proposed to appoint a committee of seven persons to make a report upon the state of the republic.

The furious rushing forth of the winds enclosed in the caverns of Eolus, never raised a more raging storm. The speaker was violently hurled to the bottom of the tribune. The ferment became excessive.

Delbred desired that the members should swear anew to the constitution of the year III. Chenier, Lucien, Boulay, trembled. The chamber proceeded to the *appel nominal*.

During the *appel nominal*, which lasted more than two hours, reports of what was passing were circulated through the capital. The leaders of the assembly, *du manège*, the *tricoteuses*, &c. hastened up. Jourdan and Augereau had kept out of the way believing Napoleon lost, they made all haste

to St. Cloud. Augereau drew near to Napoleon, and said, "Well, here you are in a pretty situation!"—"Augereau," replied Napoleon, "remember Arcole: matters appeared much more desperate there. Take my advice, and remain quiet, if you would not fall a victim to this confusion. In half an hour you will see what turn affairs will have taken."

The assembly appeared to declare itself with so much unanimity, that no deputy durst refuse to wear to the constitution: even Lucien himself was compelled to swear. Shouts and cries of "Bravo!" were heard throughout the chamber. The moment was critical. Many members, on taking the oath, added observations. All minds were in a state of suspense; the zealous became neuter; the timid deserted their post. Not an instant was to be lost. Napoleon crossed the saloon of Mars, entered the Council of Ancients, and placed himself at the bar opposite to the president. "You stand," said he, "upon a volcano; the republic no longer possesses a government; the Directory is dissolved; faction is at work; the hour of decision is come. You have called in my arm, and the arms of my comrades, to the support of your wisdom: but the moments are precious; it is necessary to take an ostensible part. I know that Cæsar and Cromwell are talked of, as if this day could be compared with past times. No; I desire nothing but the safety of the republic, and to maintain the resolutions to which you are about to come. And you, grenadiers, whose caps I perceive at the door of this hall—speak! Have I ever deceived you? Did I ever forfeit my word when, in camp, in the midst of privations, I promised you victory and plenty; and

when, at your head, I led you from conquest to conquest? Now say, was it for my own aggrandizement, or for the interest of the republic!"

The grenadiers were electrified; and, waving their caps and arms in the air, they all seemed to say, "Yes, true, true; he always kept his word?"

Upon this a member (Linglet) rose, and said with a loud voice, "General, we applaud what you say; swear then, with us, obedience to the constitution of the year III, which alone can save the republic."

The astonishment caused by these words produced a profound silence.

Napoleon recollected himself for a moment; and then went on again emphatically: "The constitution of the year III!—you have it no longer; you violated it on the eighteenth of Fructidor, when the government infringed on the independence of the legislative body; you violated it on the thirteenth of Prairial, in the year VII, when the legislative body struck at the independence of the government; you violated it on the twenty-second of Floreal, when, by a sacrilegious decree, the government and the legislative body invaded the sovereignty of the people, by annulling the elections made by them. The constitution being violated, there must be a new compact, new guarantees."

The force of this speech, and the energy of the general, brought over three fourths of the members of the council, who rose to indicate their approbation. Cornudet and Regnier spoke powerfully to the same effect. A member rose in opposition; he denounced the general, as the only conspirator against public liberty. Napoleon interrupted the orator, and declared that he was in the

secret of every party, and that all despised the constitution of the year III; that the only difference existing between them was, that some desired to have a moderate republic, in which all the national interests, and all the property should be guaranteed; while, on the other hand, the others wished for a revolutionary government, as warranted by the dangers of the country. At this moment Napoleon was informed that the *appel nominal* was terminated in the Council of Five Hundred, and that they were endeavouring to force the president Lucien to put the outlawry of his brother to the vote. Napoleon immediately hastened to the council, entered the chamber with his hat off, and ordered the officers and soldiers who accompanied him to remain at the doors: he was desirous to present himself at the bar, to rally his party, which was numerous, but which had lost all unity and resolution. But, to get to the bar, it was necessary to cross half the chamber, because the president had his seat on one of the wings. As Napoleon advanced, two or three hundred members suddenly rose, crying, "Death to the tyrant! Down with the dictator!"

Two grenadiers, who, by the order of the general, had remained at the door, and who had reluctantly obeyed, saying to him, "You do not know them; they are capable of any thing!" rushed in, sabre in hand, overthrowing all that opposed their passage, to join their general, and cover him with their bodies. All the other grenadiers followed this example, and forced Napoleon out of the chamber. In the confusion, one of them, named Thomé was slightly wounded by the thrust of a dagger and the clothes of another were cut through.

The general descended into the court-yard, called the troops into a circle by beat of drum, got on horseback, and harangued them: "I was about," said he, "to point out to them the means of saving the republic, and restoring our glory; they answered me with their daggers. It was thus they would have accomplished the wishes of the allied kings. What more could England have done? Soldiers, may I rely upon you?"

Unanimous acclamations formed the reply to this speech. Napoleon instantly ordered a captain to go with ten men into the chamber of the Five Hundred, and to liberate the president.

Lucien had just thrown off his robe. "Wretches," exclaimed he, "you insist that I should put out of the protection of the laws my brother, the saviour of the country, him whose very name causes kings to tremble! I lay aside the insignia of the popular magistracy: I offer myself in the tribune as the defender of him, whom you command me to immolate unheard."

Thus saying, he quitted the chair, and darted into the tribune. The officer of grenadiers then presented himself at the door of the chamber, exclaiming, "*Vive la Republique!*" It was supposed that the troops were sending a deputation to express their devotion to the councils. The captain was received with a joyful expression of feeling. He availed himself of the misapprehension, approached the tribune, and secured the president, saying to him in a low voice, "It is your brother's order:" the grenadiers at the same time shouted, "Down with the assassins!"

Upon these acclamations the triumph of the members was converted into a gloomy silence which



testified the dejection of the whole assembly. No opposition was offered to the departure of the president, who left the chamber, rushed into the courtyard, mounted a horse, and cried out in his stentorian voice, "General—and you, soldiers—the president of the Council of Five Hundred proclaims to you, that factious men, with drawn daggers, have interrupted the deliberations of that assembly. He calls upon you to employ force against these disturbers. The Council of Five Hundred is dissolved!"

"President," replied the general, "it shall be done."

He then ordered Murat into the chamber, at the head of a detachment in close column. Murat presented himself at the door, and summoned the council to disperse; shouts and vociferations followed. Colonel Moulins, aid-de-camp of Brune, who had just arrived from Holland, ordered the charge to be beaten. The order was given, and the troops marched forward to execute it. The chamber of the council was still the seat of uproar, confusion and anarchy. A thousand motions had succeeded each other, every one struggling to gain precedence for his opinion, and the assembly was in its wildest state, when the sound of the *pas de charge*, the charging step, was heard. The noise of the drum soon suspended that of the debate, and the surprised orators eagerly darted their looks towards the place from whence the unwelcome sound proceeded. The soldiers appeared, preceded by officers, one of whom invited the deputies to clear the hall. Invektives and remonstrances were poured out with all the volubility of utterance, but these weapons had not all their edge. The soldiers were deaf to every

thing but the orders they had received. The deputies leaped out of the windows, and dispersed, leaving their gowns, caps, &c.; in one moment the chamber was empty. Those members of the council, who had shown most pertinacity, fled with the utmost precipitation to Paris.

The first imperfect intelligence of these events had filled the metropolis with apprehensions; but no sooner were the Parisians in possession of the whole, and its probable results, than they were overjoyed. The overthrow of the Directory appeared to them as tantamount to the subversion of jacobinism and anarchy. They now cherished the hope of a new and better government, founded on the principles of justice and humanity. The Council of Ancients, animated by the same desires, issued a decree to the following effect:—"In consideration of the retreat of the Council of Five Hundred, and the resignation of four of the Directory, the fifth, Gohier, being confined, a temporary executive commission of three members shall be appointed. The legislature is adjourned to the first of Nivose next, (December 21st,) when it will again assemble in Paris without further delay. During the recess there will be an intermedial commission of the Council of the Ancients, in order to protect the rights of the national representation. The sitting is adjourned till nine o'clock in the evening of this day when the council shall proceed to the appointment of the committee."

On the same evening, the Council of Five Hundred and that of the Ancients again assembled their chambers; but the former, from which the jacobins had withdrawn, now appeared of a very different complexion from that which it had worn in

the early part of the day. Lucien Bonaparte, then president, congratulated the members present on the deliverance they had obtained from the dominion of the demagogues and assassins. The president then proposed a resolution to the effect, "that General Bonaparte, the other generals and officers, as well as the troops, had deserved well of their country."

This, carried without opposition, was succeeded by a proposal from Chasal, one of the deputies, that a committee of five should be appointed to consider the propriety of forming a new government; on which the president, mounting a tribune, pronounced an animated harangue on the disasters of the republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government; and enlarged upon the profligacy and incapacity of the Directory, on the defects of the constitution itself, and on the necessity of a strong legislative power, capable of giving solidity to the state, and preventing the return of anarchy. The council then decreed, that the executive Directory no longer existed; that certain deputies, to the number of sixty-one, particularly in the sitting of that morning, were no longer members of the national representation; that an executive consular committee should be provisionally appointed, consisting of citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, ex-directors, and General Bonaparte, under the designation of consuls of the French republic; that they should be invested with the full powers of the Directory; that the two councils should each name twenty-five commissioners charged to prepare the changes in the organic dispositions of the constitution, the object of which changes was, to con

solidate, and guaranty ir violate, the sovereignty of the people.

This decree was instantly communicated to the Council of Ancients, by whom it was passed at midnight; on which the three consuls, being summoned to the hall of the Council of Five Hundred were thus addressed by the presidents:

"Citizens! the greatest people upon earth intrust you with their destinies: within three months the public opinion shall judge you. Domestic happiness, general liberty, the direction of the armies, and peace itself, are all intrusted to you. You must have courage and zeal to accept such an important trust, and such high functions. But you are supported by the confidence of the nation and of the armies; and it is well known to the legislature, that your souls are entirely devoted to the welfare of the people."

The consuls then took the oath to preserve liberty and equality, and proclamations communicating the events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire, were promulgated in all the departments of the republic without delay. Thus terminated this military revolution without bloodshed.

The three consuls entered upon their functions the following day at the palace of the Luxembourg; and the legislative commissioners at the same time commenced their sittings. The repeal of the law imposing a forced loan, and the law of hostages, were the first objects of their attention; the former had ruined public credit, and the latter had again lighted up the flames of civil war in the departments. Bonaparte succeeded in tranquillizing La Vendée, rather by lenient than coercive measures. Every where regularity succeeded to rouble and

disorder. The list of the emigrants was finally closed, and the threat of proscription against the clergy, &c. lost much of its terror. But only eight days after this revolution, a decree was issued, whereby fifty-nine of the most furious and inveterate jacobins were condemned to banishment, thirty-seven to Guiana, and the rest to the Isle of Oleron, but, as this was merely to strike terror into the terrorists, they were only placed under the surveillance of the minister of the police. Many churches were restored to their primitive use. Several exiled citizens were recalled, and among them Barthélemy, Carnot, and Pastoret. Lucien Bonaparte was constituted minister of the interior, and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his office of minister for foreign affairs.

At length the fabric of a new government was completed by the legislative commission, and approved on the 13th of December by the consuls and members of the legislative committee. This constitution was accordingly submitted to the suffrages of the public at large, and received the express and avowed assent of upwards of three millions of the people. On the 29th of December, 1799, the new constitution was proclaimed at Paris with great solemnity, and the people, by their acclamations, seemed to cherish the hope, that this would confer upon them the enjoyments of tranquillity, prosperity, and peace.

Charmed with novelty, the Parisians received the new constitution with delight, and viewed the pomp and splendour of the consular government with surprise and self-complacency. They reasoned little, but hoped much. Bonaparte was their idol, and from him alone they expected every thing.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Invasion of Italy; Promoted by Stratagem—M. Necker—Passage of Mount St. Bernard—Operations of the Army—Surprise of General Melas—The French enter Milan—Proclamation to the Army of Reserve—Surrender of Genoa to the Austrians—Passage of the Po—Affair of Montebello—Battle of Marengo—General Dessaix—Napoleon's Return to Paris—Letter from Louis XVIII.—Overtures of Count d'Artois—Dutchess de Guiche—Insurrections in Italy—The Emperor Paul abandons the Coalition—Return of French Emigrants—Infernal Machine.*

THIS year commenced with the execution of a project so comprehensive in its extent, and apparently so improbable in its execution, that it was not surprising that for a time it should have been deemed romantic, even by those who had most reason to dread its reality.

The plan no doubt originated in the warlike and fertile brain of Napoleon; it was designed to stop the career of the Austrian General Melas, whose recent successes in Italy required a check. It was proposed by the first consul to fall upon his rear, carry off his magazines, parks, and hospitals, and, having cut him off from Austria, to give him battle. This required celerity, profound secrecy, and much boldness. But how was it possible to keep the movements of the army concealed from the numerous spies of England and Austria? The method preferred by the first consul, was to divulge it himself with so much publicity, that it should become an object of derision to the enemy, and make the whole appear to be a plan to divert the Austrian army from the blockade of Genoa. The appointment of the French army of reserve was therefore

declared by messages to the legislative body and the senate, by decrees published in the newspapers, and by intimations of all kinds. From these it appeared, that the point of concentration would be Dijon. The spies and scouts immediately directed their attention to that city, where they found, in the beginning of April, a large staff without an army; though, in the course of a month, from 5 to 6000 conscripts and retired soldiers arrived, many of whom were maimed. This army of course became the object of ridicule, and when the first consul himself reviewed it, on the 6th of May, people were astonished to see no more than 6 or 7000 men, and the most of them not even clothed. These deceitful reports travelled through Geneva, Basle, Italy, Vienna, and Brittany. Numerous caricatures were published; one of them represented a boy of twelve years of age with a wooden leg, and underneath it was written, *Bonaparte's Army of Reserve*.

In the mean time, the real army had been formed, and was ready to march. La Vendée was tranquillized, and a final end put to the system of the Chouans, so that a considerable portion of the army of reserve had been drawn from that country. The park of artillery was formed of guns and wagons sent piecemeal from various arsenals and fortresses. The most difficult thing was to conceal the movement of the provisions indispensable for an army which was to cross barren mountains, where nothing was to be had; but even this was managed.

Another *ruse de guerre*, used on this occasion, was the dissemination of a number of little bulletins in manuscript, in which, besides many scandalous anecdotes respecting the first consul, it

was attempted to be proved that the army of reserve did not, and could not exist; that from 12 to 15,000 conscripts at most were all that could be collected, and it was insidiously asked, whether the army of Italy would have been left so weak, if the government had been able to re-enforce it. It was said at Paris, as well as at Dijon and Vienna that no army of reserve existed. At the headquarters of the Austrian General Melas, the illusion was so complete, that they said, "The army of reserve we are threatened with is a band of 7 or 8000 conscripts or invalids, with which the French hope to deceive us into raising the siege of Genoa. The French rely too much on our simplicity: they wish us to realize the fable of the dog who dropped his prey for the shadow."

On the 6th of May, 1800, the first consul left Paris, and proceeded to Dijon. Arriving at Geneva on the 8th, M. Necker, then in that city, was presented to him, and expressed his hopes and wishes again to have the management of the French finances, though he did not even know in what manner the public business was conducted with treasury bonds. The first consul was very indifferently pleased with M. Necker, though he praised the military operations going on under his eyes.

On the 13th of May, Napoleon reviewed the real vanguard of the army of reserve at Lausanne: it was commanded by General Lannes, and consisted of six old regiments of chosen troops, well clothed, and completely equipped and appointed. It moved directly afterwards upon St. Pierre; the divisions followed *in echelon*, the whole forming an army of 36,000 fighting men, with a park of forty pieces of artillery.



The passage of Mount St. Bernard was referred by Napoleon to that of Mount Cenis: the difficulty in the former lay in the ascent and descent but then it offered the advantage of leaving Turin on the right, and acting in a country more covered and less known. Still a speedy passage of the artillery seemed impossible. The cartridges and ammunition were put into cases, which, as well as the mountain forges, were carried by mules. The greatest difficulty was in getting the pieces themselves over; but a number of trunks of trees, hollowed out for the reception of the guns, which were fastened into them by their trunnions, being prepared, every piece, thus arranged, was dragged by soldiers. All these dispositions were made with so much promptitude, that the march of the artillery caused no delay. The troops themselves made it a point of honour not to leave their guns in the rear, and throughout the whole passage the regimental bands were playing; and it was only in difficult spots that the charge was beaten, to give fresh vigour to the soldiers. One division, rather than leave their artillery, chose to pass the night upon the summit of a mountain in the midst of snow and excessive cold.

It has been said that Napoleon had his fortune to make at this period: but at the moment of crossing Mount St. Bernard he had fought twenty pitched battles, conquered Italy, dictated peace to Austria at twenty leagues distance from Vienna; negotiated at Rastadt with Count Cobentzel for the surrender of the strong city of Mentz; raised near 300 millions of contributions, which had served to supply the army during two years, to create the Cisalpine army, and even to pay some of the offices

of government in Paris. He had sent to the museum three hundred *chef d'œuvres*, ancient Grecian statues or pictures of the age of the Medici. He had conquered in Egypt; suppressed the factions at home, and eradicated the war in La Vendée.

On the 16th of May, Bonaparte slept at the convent of St. Maurice, and the whole army passed the St. Bernard on the 17th. He crossed on the 20th, riding on a mule recommended by one of the inhabitants of St. Pierre as the most sure-footed in all the country. Bonaparte's guide was a tall, robust youth of twenty-two, who conversed freely with him, with all the confidence becoming his age, and the simplicity of the inhabitants of the mountains. He confided all his troubles to the first consul, as well as the dreams of his future happiness.

Before he was dismissed, Napoleon, who till then had shown no disposition to do any thing for him, wrote a note, which realized all the poor fellow's hopes, such as the building of a house, the purchase of a piece of ground, &c. The astonishment of this young mountaineer was extreme.

The first consul remained an hour at the convent of the Hospitallers, and performed the descent *à la ramasse*, that is, sliding on a sort of sledge down an almost perpendicular glacier. The descent was more difficult for the horses than the ascent had been; however, very few accidents happened. The monks also accommodated the men to the best of their ability: each soldier, as he passed, received a comfortable ration from these good fathers.

On the 17th of May, the van-guard reached Chatillon, where an Austrian corps of 4 or 5000 men, posted to defend the valley, were attacked and

routed; three guns and some hundreds of prisoners were taken. Still, whilst the French army were flattering themselves that every difficulty was overcome, their progress was all at once checked by the cannon of Fort Bard.

This obstacle was more considerable than that of the Great St. Bernard itself: yet neither the one nor the other retarded the march of this army. The Austrian officer, who commanded Fort Bard, despatched letter after letter to General Melas, informing him that he saw more than 30,000 men, 3 or 4000 horses, and a numerous staff, attempting to pass on his right, by a path of steps in the rock of Albaredo. He even suggested, that it would be more than a month before the French army would receive its artillery, or be able to trust itself in the plain. After the surrender of the fort, the officers of the garrison were strangely surprised, on learning that all the French artillery had passed by night at thirty or forty toises from their ramparts. The Fort of Bard surrendered on the 1st of June. In the interval from the 1st of May, Melas had been marching troops upon Turin, and strengthening the divisions in the Valley of Aosta and Mount Cenis; though on the 22d the latter post was taken by General Thurreau, who had 3000 men under him; his subsequent occupation, of a position between Susa and Turin, alarmed Melas, and paralyzed his efforts.

Ivrea, occupied by five or six thousand Austrians, was soon after carried, together with the citadel, containing numerous magazines.

On the 26th, the enemy having retired to Romano to cover Turin, General Lannes attacked him in his position, overthrew, and drove him in disorder upon that city. The French advanced guard m-

mediately took possession of Chivasso, where Bonaparte harangued the troops, and bestowed eulogiums upon them.

Preparations having been made by the French, as if they intended to pass the Po, General Melas selected an officer who had the honour of knowing the first consul, and sent him on a parley to the out-posts. His surprise at finding him so near the Austrians was extreme.

On the 27th, General Murat passed the Sesia, and on the 31st of May, Bonaparte moved rapidly upon the Tessino. Here the Austrians had united to cover Milan, and the contest was brisk during the whole day. The French had no bridge, but crossed upon four small boats, and on the 2d of June they entered the city of Milan, and invested the citadel. Bonaparte, marching with the van-guard, was one of the first persons who presented themselves to the eyes of the astonished inhabitants, who had crowded from all quarters. They could scarcely trust their sight! it had been reported that Napoleon had died on the Red Sea, and that it was one of his brothers who commanded the army!

Between the 1st and 8th of June, the following proclamation was addressed to the army of reserve:

"Soldiers! One of our departments was in the power of the enemy: consternation reigned over the whole south of France.

"The greater part of the territory of the Ligurians, the most faithful friends of the republic, was invaded.

"The Cisalpine republic, annihilated by the last campaign, had become the sport of a ridiculous feudal domination.

"Soldiers! you march, and the French territory is already free! Consternation and dread are succeeded by joy and hope in our country.

"You will restore liberty and independence to the people of Genoa, who will be forever relieved from their eternal foes.

"You are in the capital of the Cisalpine.

"The enemy, panic-struck, hope only to regain the frontiers. You have taken from them their stores, their magazines, and their reserve of artillery.

"The first act of the campaign is ended.

"You hear, daily, millions of men manifest their gratitude to you.

"But shall the violation of the French soil pass unpunished? Will you suffer those soldiers who have carried terror into your families to return to their firesides? You rush to arms.

"Well, then, march to meet them, oppose their retreat, snatch from them the laurels with which they have decked themselves, and thereby teach the world, that a malediction rests upon all madmen who dare to insult the territory of the great nation.

"The result of our efforts will be *unclouded glory and solid peace*.

"The First Consul,

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

About this period, a despatch from the ministry at Vienna to M. de Melas was intercepted; it contained some curious information with regard to what is called "the *pretended* army of reserve;" and Melas was ordered to continue his operations in Provence vigorously. It was also stated that some

commotions had taken place in Paris, and obliged the first consul to return hastily to that capital from Geneva!

But, in the midst of the most brilliant successes and the fairest hopes, it was the fate of the French army to hear that Genoa had actually capitulated. Bonaparte then saw that he must rely on his own strength alone, and that he would shortly have to manage the whole army.

The enemy, encouraged by circumstances, sent a van-guard of four to five thousand men to attack that of the French, who had passed the Po; but General Lannes soon routed them, and at night took a position before the Austrian army, which occupied Montebello and Casteggio, with about 18,000 men and Ott's grenadiers, the flower of the army.

Lannes, being in position, and expecting re-enforcements every moment, had no inducement to attack; but the Austrian general made a movement at day-break. The battle was bloody. Lannes covered himself with glory; the Austrians fought desperately, but, Victor's division coming up about noon, the day was decided in favour of the French. The enemy lost 3000 killed and 6000 prisoners. On the 10th, 11th, and 12th, the first consul remained in the position at Stradella, employing the time in concentrating his army, and securing his retreat by the construction of two bridges across the Po, and fortifying them. The enemy's cavalry was formidable, and that of the French, with the artillery, was inferior in number; it was therefore dangerous to engage in the plain of Marengo. However, the issue showed that there was no longer any choice; and, besides, the chances of victory were

wholly in favour of the Austrian army, which was very numerous. Previous to the battle of Marengo, which occurred on the 14th of June, 1800, General Dessaix, who had returned from Egypt, arrived at the head-quarters, with his aids-de-camp, Rapp and Savory. Dessaix burned to signalize himself. He longed to avenge the ill-treatment he had received from Admiral Keith at Leghorn. Napoleon immediately gave him the command of the division of Boudet.

Under the impression that the Austrians were marching on Genoa, Napoleon despatched Dessaix's division in the form of a van-guard upon his extreme left, whilst Victor, arriving at Marengo, routed a rear-guard of four or five thousand Austrians, and made himself master of the village.

On the 14th, at break of day, the Austrians defiled by three bridges of the Bormida, and made a furious attack upon Marengo. The resistance was kept up for a long time. Bonaparte arrived on the field of battle at ten in the morning, between San Julian and Marengo: the latter had been carried by the enemy. Victor's division, after a smart conflict, was thrown into the utmost disorder, and the plain was left covered with French fugitives, many of whom were exclaiming in dismay, "All is lost!"

The corps of General Lannes, a little in the rear of the right of Marengo, was outflanked by the enemy, upon which Bonaparte despatched his battalion of the cavalry guard, the best troops in the army, to station themselves at a distance of 500 toises from Lannes, and keep the enemy in check. The first consul himself also hastened with the seventy-second demi-brigade to assist Lannes. When the army perceived him in the middle of this immense plain

and 200 horse grenadiers with their fur caps, their hopes of victory returned, and the fugitives were rallied upon San Juliano in the rear of the left of Lannes, who was effecting his retreat with admirable order and coolness. This corps occupied three hours in retiring three quarters of a league, entirely exposed to the grape shot of eighty pieces of cannon; at the same time that, by an inverse movement, St. Cyr advanced upon the extreme right, and turned the left of the enemy.

About three in the afternoon the corps under Dessaix arrived: the first consul made him take a position on the road in advance of San Juliano. Melas, who thought that victory had decided in his favour, being overcome with fatigue, repassed the bridges, and left to General Zach, the head of his staff, the task of pursuing the French. The first consul ordered General Dessaix to charge Zach's column of 6000 grenadiers; but, as he advanced at the head of 200 troopers, he was shot through the heart by a ball, and fell dead at the very moment he had given the word to charge. This misfortune did not discourage the movement. General Boudet easily inspired the soldiers with the same ardent desire of instant revenge. On this occasion the ninth demi-brigade merited the title of *Incomparable*. General Kellerman at the same time, with 800 heavy horse, charged the Austrian column intrepidly: in less than half an hour these 6000 grenadiers were broken, dispersed, and put to flight, and General Zach and all his staff made prisoners.

The whole Austrian army was thrown into the most dreadful confusion. From eight to ten thousand cava'ry, which were spread over the field, fearing that St. Cyr's division might reach the bridge



before them, retreated at full gallop, and overturned all they met in their way. No one thought of any thing but flight. The pressure and confusion on the bridges became extreme, and all who remained at night upon the left bank were made prisoners.

In this desperate situation, General Melas resolved to give his troops the whole night to rally and repose themselves ; availing himself of the Bermuda on one side, and the citadel of Allesandra on the other, or at any rate to save his army by capitulating. Accordingly, on the 15th, by day-break, the Austrian general sent a flag of truce, which on the same day led to a convention, by which Genoa and all the fortified places in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations, were given up, and by which the Austrian army obtained leave to retire behind Mantua, without being made prisoners of war. Thus was the conquest of all Italy secured.

In consequence of this change of affairs, General Suchet entered Genoa on the 24th of June, which was given up to him by Prince Hohenzollern, to the great regret of the English.

The first consul, on the 17th of June, set out from Marengo for Milan ; which place, as well as a great part of Italy, had become the scene of the most animated rejoicings.

Though General Massena had been guilty of an error in embarking his troops at Genoa, instead of conducting them by land, it was considered that he had always displayed great character and energy. The first consul, therefore, appointed him commander-in-chief of the army of Italy.

The Austrians and the French, now becoming brethren from sad necessity, drew near to each other, and offered or sought mutual assistance.

"The next morning," says an eye witness, "I entered the great court of Marengo: I was there struck with a sight so horrible, that I shudder at its recollection: more than three thousand French and Austrians, heaped one upon another in the yard, in the granaries, in the stables, and out-houses, even to the very cellars and vaults, were uttering the most heart-rending lamentations, and crying out by turns for food, for water, and for the assistance of the surgeon.

The battle of Marengo was celebrated at Paris by a *fete*, on the 14th of July, and then presented a singularly interesting spectacle. This was the remains of the "wall of granite," who, just as the games were about to begin, marched into the field. The sight of these soldiers, covered with the dust of their march, embrowned with the sun, and with the marks of warlike toil on their brow, formed a scene so affecting, that the people could not be restrained by the guards from violating the limits, to take a nearer view of these interesting heroes. While the parade lasted, tolerable good order was preserved; but, as they marched away, after their presentation to the first consul, mothers, sisters, and friends, rushed forwards to embrace sons and brothers as they passed; and, amidst this joy of tears, and the loud acclamations of the spectators, the whole order of the ceremony was disturbed; useless efforts were made to persuade the people to retire to their positions, and the intended games were wisely deferred.

Napoleon's presence being necessary at Paris, he arrived there on the 2d of July, in the middle of the night, and was received on the following day with every demonstration of joy.

It is a curious fact, that Napoleon most religiously preserved the drab great coat, which he wore during his passage over Mount St. Gothard, previous to the memorable battle of Marengo. He was so much attached to this surtout, that he frequently wore it previous to decisive battles; and it is in this very habiliment that he is uniformly represented in the great pictures painted by his order, to immortalize his most celebrated triumphs.

Shortly after the battle of Marengo, Napoleon says, Louis XVIII. wrote a letter to him, which was delivered by the Abbé Montesquiou, in which he complained of his long delay in restoring him to his throne; that the happiness of France could never be complete without him; neither could the glory of the country be complete without Bonaparte: that one was as necessary to it as the other; and concluded by desiring Napoleon to choose whatever he thought proper, provided he was restored to his throne. Napoleon sent him back a very handsome answer, in which he stated, that he was extremely sorry for the misfortunes of himself and family, that he was ready to do every thing in his power to relieve them, and would interest himself in providing a suitable income for them; but that he might abandon the thought of ever returning to France as a sovereign, as that could not be effected without marching over the bodies of five hundred thousand Frenchmen.

The overtures made to Napoleon by the Count d'Artois possessed still more elegance and address. The bearer of these was the Dutchess de Guiche, a lady whose personal graces and fascinating manners were extremely prepossessing. She got access to Madame Bonaparte, and breakfasted with

her at Malmaison. Here the conversation turning on London, the emigrants, and the French princes, Madame de Guiche mentioned her having been at the house of the Count d'Artois, when some person asked him what he intended to do for the first consul, in the event of his restoring the Bourbons; and that the prince had replied, "I would immediately make him constable of the kingdom, and every thing else he might choose. But even that would not be enough: we would raise on the Carrousel a lofty and magnificent column, surmounted with a statue of Bonaparte crowning the Bourbons."

As soon as Napoleon entered the apartment, Josephine eagerly repeated what the dutchess had said. "And did not you reply," said her husband, "that the corpse of the first consul would have been made the pedestal of the columns?" The charming dutchess was still present; the beauties of her countenance, her eyes, her words, were directed to the success of her mission. She observed, also, that she was so much delighted, she did not know how she should ever be able sufficiently to acknowledge the favour which Madame Bonaparte had procured her of seeing and hearing so distinguished a man—so great a hero. All this was in vain—the dutchess received orders that very night to quit Paris.

Whilst at St. Helena, Napoleon, speaking in reference to Louis, the French king, observed, "If Lord Castlereagh were to offer me the crown of France on the same conditions, I would prefer remaining where I am. There is no man more to be pitied than Louis. He is forced upon the nation as a king, and, instead of being allowed to ingratiate himself with the people, the allies compel him to have recourse to measures, which must increase

their hatred, instead of conciliating their affections. Royalty is degraded by the steps they have obliged him to adopt. *On la rend si sale et si méprisable*, that it reflects upon England itself. Ill treated as I have been," continued Napoleon, "I prefer my sojourn on this execrable rock, to being seated on the throne of France, like Louis; as I know that posterity will do me justice. Another year or two will probably finish my career in this world, but what I have done will never perish. Twelve hundred years hence, my name will be mentioned with respect, whilst those of my oppressors will be unknown, or only known by being loaded with infamy and opprobrium."

On the 28th of July, preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris, on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio.

At no period of their history, not even in the early part of Maria Theresa's reign, was the situation of the Austrian monarchy in a more critical juncture. The French, after the signal victory at Hohenlinden, had crossed the Inn and the Ipps, and, arriving at Steyer, in Upper Austria, were within seventeen leagues of Vienna. The Gallo-Batavian army at the same time were advancing along the Danube. Macdonald, in possession of the mountains of the Tyrol, had the option of descending into Italy or Germany, while Brune, after taking fifteen thousand prisoners in twenty days, was ready to penetrate into the mountains of Carinthia.

The last armistice, like that which had preceded it, did not continue many weeks; and, as it did not extend to Italy, in the beginning of the succeeding year, the Imperial and French troops were again in

motion. The French generals, acting upon the plans of the first consul, were repeatedly victorious; and many battles were fought, highly disadvantageous to the enemy, especially that of Pozzolo in Italy. The siege of Peschiera was warmly pushed, and the place surrendered to General Chasseloup. In the course of a few weeks, the expedition of General Murat against the kingdom of Naples was again followed by an armistice, the submission of Roger Damas, and the friendly reception of General Murat at Rome.

Much negotiation and political intrigue had been carried on during the latter end of 1800. The continent, weary of nine years' war, ardently signed for peace. It was also known to be a part of Bonaparte's ambition, to become the pacificator of the country which had called him to be the supreme magistrate. Austria, however, still found itself fettered by its engagements with England; whilst the British cabinet was redoubling its efforts to fix the indecision of its ally, and to effect the renewal of the war upon the continent. In this alone they could ensure their preponderance in foreign councils, and the monopoly of the commerce of Europe.

During these negotiations, which both parties kept as secret as possible, hostile preparations were carrying on with the greatest activity. Austria had ordered a levy *en masse* in Hungary; the frontier of Upper Austria, and the right bank of the Inn, were covered with intrenchments from Kuffstein to Passau; numerous reinforcements were sent to the armies, and corps of reserve were formed in the rear. The English augmented their naval force, and many attempts were made upon the French coast, and in the Mediterranean.

The French, in order to maintain their superiority upon the continent, detached 15,000 men from the second army of reserve, into Switzerland, under the orders of General Macdonald, to connect themselves in such a manner with the armies of Italy and Germany, as to succour either, according to circumstances. In fact, by the month of September, 1800, France had more than 200,000 excellent troops in the field.

Whilst these hostile corps were approaching each other in the heart of Germany, the first consul authorized General Moreau to continue the armistice beyond the 10th of September, the day it was to expire. Moreau accordingly took it upon himself to prolong the armistice till the 17th. The first consul approved of this delay, but sent an order by the telegraph to this general, to insist upon the ratification of the preliminaries, or to commence hostilities immediately ; but authorizing him at the same time to consent to a new armistice for a month, if the emperor would deliver up Philipsbourg, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt, as pledges of his good faith. Austria, who only sought to gain time, agreed to this new proposal.

The prolongation of the armistice in Germany did not by any means alleviate the hardships endured by the inhabitants from the presence of so many armies, every day consuming the produce of the whole country between the Rhine and the Inn ; for, notwithstanding the strictest discipline, the people were in the greatest misery. In the course of one year, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, had furnished more than two millions in contributions ; besides these, the most exorbitant requisitions were daily made, and the people did not receive the least com-

solation from the Austrian government, deaf to the complaints that were continually made. This truly deplorable situation had a natural tendency to relax the bonds of the German confederation; and most of the princes who composed it, finding themselves in a hopeless condition, sought an alliance with Bonaparte, and entered into separate treaties with him, without waiting the issue of the emperor's negotiations at Luneville.

The influence of the first consul was thus increasing from day to day; and, to weaken the coalition still more, he availed himself of an expedient calculated to detach Russia from the allies altogether. The emperor Paul had for more than a year solicited the British cabinet to consent to the exchange of Russian prisoners in France, for a similar number of French, detained in England, the refusal of which had raised that sovereign's resentment to the highest degree. Bonaparte, availing himself of this circumstance, collected between nine and ten thousand Russian prisoners in the northern departments of France, clothed them in their own proper uniform, equipped and armed them, and sent them home without being exchanged. Paul, already seduced by the military reputation of Bonaparte, was quite brought over by this specious act of generosity, and which in the end produced an alliance between them, that eventually occasioned the assassination of the unfortunate Paul.

The congress at Luneville was opened on the 9th of November, 1800; when, as Bonaparte would not admit of an English plenipotentiary unless the proposed *naval* armistice was previously agreed to, the negotiations were confined to an exchange of full powers, empty formalities, and useless protests



tions. In the interim, the forty-five days, prescribed for the armistice agreed on at Hohenlinden, having elapsed, Bonaparte sent couriers to the generals of the armies, to commence hostilities on the 26th of November.

Austria, the principal champion at the head of the struggle of the kings against the first consul, owing to the gold of England, had made such prodigious efforts, that she was once more in a situation to contend for victory, and the battle of Hohenlinden soon followed, in which the French, under Moreau, were, as usual, triumphant, and the archduke John was obliged to abandon all his intrenchments upon the Inn, and retire upon Alza. The battles that followed brought the French armies into Styria, within a few leagues of Vienna, when the Austrian general Grune presented himself at head-quarters, with full powers to conclude another armistice! The archduke also announced to the general-in-chief, that the emperor of Austria was determined to make peace, with or without the consent of the allies. Moreau, who thought he had performed enough for his glory, disdained the empty honour of a triumphal entry into the capital of Austria, and therefore thought proper to suspend the march of his troops, and accede to the proposed armistice. However, in twenty-two days the French army had gained forty leagues of ground, and the formidable lines of the Inn; the Salzbach, the Traun, and the Ens, had been passed without loss; while more than forty-five thousand Imperialists killed and wounded, a hundred and forty field-pieces, and a number of colours taken, rendered the moderation of the conquerors still more conspicuous.

For some time before the expiration of 1800, the return of the emigrants to France had been facilitated in various ways by the liberality of the first consul; but, towards the close of that year, their conspiracies gave the most unfavourable bias to this indulgence. Here we allude to the explosion of the infernal machine, on the evening of the 24th of December.

From the Journal of the private Life of Napoleon, it now appears, that two infernal machines were constructed, and the contrivers of both discovered to Napoleon, but who, with his usual policy, kept the history of the first a profound secret. He did not like to divulge the numerous conspiracies of which he was the object.

The construction of the first of these infernal machines, the emperor imputed to a hundred furious jacobins, the real authors of the scenes of September and the 10th of August. To accomplish their purpose of getting rid of him, they invented a fifteen or sixteen pound howitzer, which, on being thrown into the carriage, would explode by its own concussion. To make their object more sure, they proposed to lay caltrops along a part of the road, which would impede the carriage, and prevent the horses from moving on. The man who was to be employed in laying down the caltrops, entertaining some suspicions of the job, communicated his ideas to the police. The conspirators were soon traced, and were apprehended near the Jardin des Plantes, in the act of trying the effects of a machine, which made a terrible explosion. The first consul, for reasons aforesaid, did not give publicity to this event, but contented himself with imprisoning the criminals. He soon relaxed his orders for keeping

them closely confined, and thus they were allowed to mingle with some royalists in the same prison, who were there for having attempted to assassinate him by means of air-guns. These two parties formed an alliance, and the royalists transmitted to their friends out of prison the idea of the last infernal machine, which actually exploded on the 24th of December.

The account that Napoleon gave of this event, stated in substance, that on that evening he was much pressed to go to the opera. He had been greatly occupied with business all the day, and in the evening found himself sleepy and tired. He threw himself on a sofa in his wife's room, and fell asleep. Josephine came down some time after, awoke him, and insisted he should go to the theatre. She wished him to do every thing to ingratiate himself with the people. Against his inclination he got up, went into his carriage, accompanied by Lasnes and Bessieres, but was so drowsy that he fell asleep in the coach, and continued so till the explosion took place, when he recollected experiencing a sensation, as if the vehicle had been raised up, and was passing through a great body of water. The contrivers were a man named St. Regent ; Imolan, a religious man, who afterwards went to America and became a priest ; and some others. They procured a cart and a barrel, resembling those with which water is supplied in the streets of Paris, only with this exception, that the barrel was placed crossways. This Imolan filled with gunpowder, and placed it and himself nearly in the turning of the street (St. Nicaise) through which the consul's carriage was to pass.

What saved Bonaparte was, his wife's carriage being the same in appearance as his, and, as there was a guard of fifteen men to each, Imolan did not know which carriage Bonaparte was in, and was not certain he would be in either: to ascertain this, he stepped forward to look into the carriage. One of the guards, a great, tall, strong fellow, impatient and angry at seeing a man stopping up the way, and staring into the carriage, rode up, and gave him a kick with his great boot, crying out, "Get out of the way, *pekin*," which knocked him down. Before he could get up, the carriage had passed a little on, when Imolan, probably confused by his fall, not perceiving that the carriage had passed, exploded his machine between the two carriages. It killed the horse of one of the guards, wounded the rider, knocked down several houses, and killed and wounded about forty or fifty spectators, who were gazing to see the first consul pass. The police collected together all the remnants of the cart and the machine, and invited all the workmen in Paris to come and look at them. The pieces were recognised by several. One said, I made this, another that, and all agreed they had sold them to two men, who by their accent were *Bas-Bretons*, natives of Lower Brittany; but nothing more could be learned.

Shortly after, the hackney coachmen and others of that description gave a great dinner in the Champs Elysées to Cæsar, Napoleon's coachman, thinking he had saved his master's life, by his skill and activity at the moment of the explosion, which was not the case, for he was drunk at the time. It was the guardsman that saved it, by knocking Imolan down. It is possible that the coachman as

sisted, by driving furiously round the corner, as being drunk, and not afraid of any thing. He was so far gone, that he thought the report of the explosion was that of a salute fired in honour of his master's visit to the theatre. At the coachmen's dinner they all took their bottle freely: one of them, when drunk, said, "Cæsar, I know the men who tried to blow the first consul up the other day. In such a street, and such a house," naming them. "I saw on that day a water-cart coming out of a passage, which arrested my attention, as I had never seen one there before. I observed the men and the horse, and should know them again." The minister of police was sent for; the man was interrogated, and brought to the house referred to, where they found the measure with which the conspirators had put the powder into the barrel, and there was a little of the powder scattered about. The master of the house, on being questioned, said there had been people there for some time, whom he took to be smugglers; that on the day in question they had gone out with the cart, which he supposed contained a loading of smuggled goods. He added, that they were *Bas-Bretons*, and that one of them appeared to give directions to the other two. A description of their persons being thus obtained, St Regent and Carbon were taken, tried, and executed. An inspector of police had noticed the cart standing at the corner of the street for a long time, and had ordered the person that was with it to drive it away, but he made some excuse, and said there was plenty of room; the inspector seeing what he thought a *water-cart*, with a miserable horse not worth twenty francs, did not suspect any lurking mischief.

The sensation excited by the shock of this explosion, Napoleon afterwards acknowledged, awoke him from a dream that he was drowning in the Tagliamento, an event which must have left a very deep impression upon his mind. It was then some few years since he had passed the river Tagliamento in Italy, in his carriage, during the night. In the ardour of youth, and heedless of every obstacle, though he was attended by a hundred men, armed with poles and torches, his carriage was soon set on float. He for some time gave himself up for lost. So at the moment when he awoke on his way to the opera, in the midst of a conflagration, the carriage was lifted up, and the passage of the Tagliamento came fresh upon his memory. The illusion, however, was but short—"We are blown up!" exclaimed the first consul to Lasnes and Bessieres, who were in the carriage with him. They proposed to make arrests, but he advised them not to be too hasty. He arrived safe at the opera, and appeared as if nothing had happened.

Napoleon, being asked, whilst at St. Helena, who the persons were that employed the contrivers of the infernal machine, said they were employed by the Count D\*\*\*, and sent over by Pitt in English ships, and furnished with English money. "Although," added he, "your \*\*\*\* did not actually suborn them, they knew what they were going to execute, and furnished them with the means." He did not believe that Louis XVIII. was privy to it.

Previous to this, a conspiracy of about fifty persons, most of whom had once been very much attached to him, consisting of officers in the army, men of science, painters and sculptors, was formed against him. They were all stern republicans; their

minds were heated ; each fancied himself a Brutus him a tyrant and another Cæsar. Amongst them was Arena, a countryman of Bonaparte's, who imagined, that by getting rid of him he should do a service to France. Ceracchi, another Corsican sculptor, having determined to kill the first consul, came to Paris from Milan, and, though he had made one statue for him at the latter place, he solicited to have the honour of making another ; but his intention was to poniard Bonaparte whilst he was sitting for it. This was refused ; and, as Napoleon was then ignorant of the conspiracy, this refusal saved his life.

Among these conspirators was a captain ; he would not consent that Bonaparte should be killed, but, as he could not bring the rest of them into his way of thinking, he gave information of their names and plans. They were to assassinate Napoleon the first night he went to the theatre, in the passage on his returning. Every thing being arranged with the police, Napoleon went the same evening to the theatre, and actually passed through the conspirators, some of whom he knew personally, and who were armed with poniards under their cloaks. Shortly after his arrival they were seized, afterwards tried and executed.

Lucien Bonaparte was appointed prime minister of the interior this year, and on the 14th of July he laid the first stone of the national column at Paris, intended to celebrate the chief epochas of the revolution, and the new order of things under the benign influence of the first consul. In the same year Lucien, with the prefect of the Seine, laid the foundation stone of a departmental column.

sacred to liberty and war, and dedicated to the army.

The year 1800 terminated triumphantly for the French arms in Italy. General Lecourbe entered Steyer, in Carinthia, on the 25th of December. The Austrians lost 12,000 men killed, and 8000 prisoners. The Mincio was passed, and the city of Verona entered by General Brune. on the last day of the year



## CHAPTER X.

*A. mistice in Italy—Peace of Luneville—Capture of the Hannibal, a seventy-four—Expedition against Boulogne—Treaty of Amiens—Bonaparte's Plans for the internal Improvement of France—Pacification with the Pope—Assassination of the Emperor Paul of Russia—Remarks on his Murderers—Anecdotes—French Expedition to St. Domingo.—Changes in the Government of Switzerland.*

IN January, 1801, the French and Austrian generals in Italy entered into a convention, by which it was stipulated, that the Tyrol should be wholly evacuated by the Austrians, and the fortresses of Brannau and Wurtzburgh delivered up to the French. These stipulations were soon followed by a new agreement, at Trevisa, between the generals Brune and Bellegarde, by which a cessation of arms was obtained in Italy, on condition of surrendering Peschiera, Sermione, Verona, Legnano, Ferrara and Ancona, afterwards ceded to the French.

On the 9th of February, 1801, the peace of Luneville, after so many delays, was actually signed. Its conditions were, that the left bank of the Rhine should be the limit of the French republic, which should give up all claims upon the right.

The interval between the peace of Luneville and that of Amiens, that followed, was occupied by such formidable preparations on the opposite coasts of England, that an attempt to cripple or destroy those at Boulogne was not thought unworthy the talents and enterprise of a Nelson.

Some success in the Mediterranean, in the capture of the Hannibal, a British 74 gun ship, in the harbour of Algesiras, was magnified by the French

into a great victory ; three of the r ships, as they asserted, having beaten six of the English ! Hence the destruction of the modern Carthage was fondly predicted, from the loss of her Hannibal.

The failure of the expedition against Boulogne, was very grateful to the French people ; whilst their government exhibited an unusual degree of moderation. It was owned, that the first consul had long been aware, that neither his ports nor his fleets were secure from the enterprise and valour of the English seamen ; and that he was no longer desirous of intrusting their safety to the chances of failure, or the caprices of fortune. Ambitious of every new species of glory, he now appeared desirous of the blessing of tranquillity, and of adding to his martial renown the title of "The Pacifier of Europe."

Bonaparte, some years after, spoke in high terms of Lord Nelson, and attempted to palliate that only stigma upon his memory, the execution of Caraccioli, the Neapolitan patriot, which he attributed entirely to his having been deceived by that wicked woman, Queen Caroline of Naples, through the means of Lady Hamilton, and to the influence which the latter had over Nelson.

The ground-work of this pacific disposition in the French ruler was, that, for some time past, an active intercourse had taken place between the two governments. Flags of truce and flags of defiance were actually displayed at the same time, and in the same strait : so that, while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded and blockaded by hostile squadrons, the ports of Dover and Calais were frequently visited by the packet-boats, and the messengers of the courts of St. James and the Tuille

ries. At length, Lord Hawkesbury, the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, after a long but secret correspondence with M. Otto, announced on the first of October, the signature of the preliminaries of peace between England on one part, and Spain, France and Holland on the other. This intelligence diffused universal satisfaction all over the kingdom. At the end of eleven days, the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the part of the first consul was brought from Paris to London, by Colonel Lauriston, who, with the French ambassador, was drawn through the streets in his carriage, by the populace of that city.

Amiens, the town assigned for the discussion of the definitive treaty, had been the residence for some months of the ministers of the respective powers. The Marquis Cornwallis represented Great Britain: Joseph Bonaparte, counsellor of state, France; M. Azzara, Spain; and M. Schimmelpennick, Holland. It may be necessary to state here, that, by the preliminary articles, on which the definitive treaty was grounded, his Britannic majesty agreed to restore to the French republic, and her allies, all the possessions and colonies conquered by the British arms during the war, the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions of Ceylon excepted. It was further stipulated, that the port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic majesty, and restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem within three months. And, for the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be under the guarantee and pro

section of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte. The territories and possessions of his most faithful majesty shall likewise be preserved entire. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English forces shall, in like manner, evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic. The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French republic. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, shall be restored to the same state in which they were before the present war. And, finally, plenipotentiaries shall be named on each side, who shall repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty of peace, in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

The conclusion of the first French revolutionary war, which had lasted the same number of years as the siege of Troy, proved a subject of exultation to the French nation. The French consul hastened to notify the joyful event to the legislative body, the tribunate, and the conservative senate; but, whilst congratulating these bodies on the one hand, he endeavoured to impress all the countries of Europe with the persuasion, that it was the ambition of England alone, which had so long contributed to disturb the tranquillity of mankind.

Though the French government was much distressed for want of cash during the year 1801, being reduced to the necessity of threatening forced loans, the first consul seemed to have fixed his thoughts on vast plans of improvement and embe-

lishment Early in the year he made a journey to St. Quentin, where he purposed to revive the expiring manufactures, and visited for the purpose of resuming them the discontinued works of the canal of Languedoc. On this point he consulted his most eminent engineers, and purposed, by a canal which should join the River Yonne to the Saone, to form a complete internal navigation from the north of the republic to the south. When the canals of St. Quentin and Burgundy should be finished, a boat from Amsterdam might, without discharging its cargo, arrive through the interior at Marseilles. Other magnificent projects were daily detailed; new bridges were to be built, the public roads improved, fortresses were to be erected, the Louvre completed, the national library placed in a new hall, and museums established in the fifteen principal cities of France. These, and many other grand projects, were employed to occupy the public attention, while bread was rising to an alarming price, insomuch, that even fear could not restrain the outcries of the people, and all the vigilance of the police could not prevent some disturbance, even in the capital.

Splendid shows were repeated, and these seemed never to lose their effect; but that was only momentary, and government showed many signs of alarm. The new laws, however rigorous, were not considered sufficient, although their execution was unremitted and unlimited; the press, both in France, and wherever the influence of France extended, was laid under arbitrary restraint; those who published pamphlets in Paris on the concordate were arrested and imprisoned; and the Leyden Gazette was forcibly suppressed, because the editor had allowed himself to make some observations on the

various constitutions established in Holland. Yet rumours of discord and insurrection were prevalent; the officers of the army of Germany loudly complained that their services were slighted, while all favours were lavished on those who had acted in Italy and Egypt, and even Moreau himself, not without reason, was regarded with jealousy and suspicion. The consular guard was augmented to 16,000 men, and in the midst of triumph, flattery, and uncontrolled power, the chief appeared distrustful, and many of the people dissatisfied.

In the course of this year all the continental powers, that had waged war against the French republic, were disposed for peace. The elector palatine of Bavaria negotiated a treaty, by which he renounced the dutchies of Juliers. Deux-Ponts, and their dependencies.

But the policy of Napoleon was still more eminently displayed by a pacification with the pope, which contributed very much to the tranquillity of France. By a convention with the sovereign pontiff, ratified in September, 1801, the first consul was not only acknowledged to possess all the privileges of the ancient monarchy, so far as concerned public worship, but new and essential immunities. His holiness agreed to procure the resignation of the prelates who adhered to the old establishment, and the chief magistrate was to nominate to the vacant sees. A new and more suitable form of prayer for the first consul was introduced; and it was further stipulated on the part of the holy father and his successors, that those who had acquired the alienated property of the church should not be disturbed.

By the concordate agreed to in the ensuing year the apostolical and Roman faith was declared to be the religion of the state, and the Catholics were to pay one-tenth of their taxes to defray the expenses of public worship. But its possessions and ceremonies were to be subjected to the civil power, while the chief consul was to be declared head of the Gallican church, and the bishops and priests were to make a solemn promise of fidelity.

An event highly important in its consequences took place in Russia in the month of March, this year. The emperor Paul I., at the age of forty-six years, was said to have died suddenly in the night between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of that month, just at the moment when an English fleet, under the admirals Hyde Parker and Nelson, were passing the sound, to chastise the northern powers, for presuming to defend the independence of European navigation. The results of this sudden death were the astonishment of the confederate powers at its coincidence with the late expedition to Copenhagen. At the moment when these powers seemed desirous to effect a change in the policy of the new czar of Russia, Alexander solemnly declared that he would renounce the system adopted by his father with respect to England. Thus was dissolved the formidable confederation of the northern powers; leaving few other traces behind it than the destruction of the Danish fleet on the second of April, and the sudden death of the emperor Paul. Bonaparte, referring to this event when at St. Helena, said, "Alexander employs the murderers of his father. One of them, O., is now his aid-de-camp. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that, at Tilsit, he observed to me, that I

paid a great deal of attention to B\*\*\*\*, and begged to know my reasons for it. I answered, 'Because he is your general.' 'Cependant,' said he, *\*\*\*\* c'est un vilain coquin. C'est lui qui a assassiné mon pere,* and policy alone has obliged me to employ him, although I wish him dead, and in a short time will send him about his business.'—Alexander and the king of Prussia," continued he, "dined with me every day, and in order to pay a compliment to A\*\*\*\*\*, it was my intention, on the day the conversation took place, to have asked B\*\*\*\* to dinner, as commander-in-chief of the army. This displeased A——, who, although he asked B\*\*\*\* to his own table, did not wish me to do so, because it would have raised him so high in the eyes of the Russians. Paul," continued he, "was murdered by B\*\*\*\*, O\*\*\*\*, P\*\*\*, and others. A Cossack, in whom Paul had confidence, used to sleep at his door. The conspirators came up and demanded entrance; this the Cossack refusing, they fell upon him, and despatched him after a desperate resistance. Paul, who was in bed, hearing the noise, got out, and endeavoured to escape to the empress's apartments. Unluckily for himself, a day or two before, he, in his suspicions, had ordered the door of communication to be closed up. He then went and concealed himself in a press; in the meanwhile the conspirators broke open the door, but, perceiving there was no one in the bed, they exclaimed, 'We are lost! he has escaped.' P\*\*\*, feeling the bedclothes, said, 'The nest is warm, the bird cannot be far off.' When they had found and dragged Paul out of his hiding-place, they presented him a paper, containing his abdication: he refused at first; but said he would abdicate if they would re



lease him. They then seized, knocked him down, and tried to suffocate him. Paul made a desperate resistance, when, fearful lest assistance should arrive B\*\*\*\* despatched him, by stamping his heel into his eyes, and thus beating his brains out, while the others held him down. Paul, in his struggles for life, once got B\*\*\*\*'s heel into his mouth, and bit a piece out of his skin."

Napoleon said, that he and the emperor Paul had been on the best terms together. At the time of his murder, he had concerted a plan with him for an expedition to India, and he would certainly have prevailed upon him to carry it into execution. Paul wrote to Napoleon very often, and at great length. His first communication was curious and original. "Citizen first consul," he had written to him with his own hand, "I do not discuss the merits of the rights of man ; but when a nation places at its head a man of distinguished merit, and worthy of esteem, it has a government ; and France has henceforth one in my eyes."

When Napoleon was in Syria, he noticed the thievery and impudence of a little Chinese, who was one of his servants : he was a deformed dwarf, whom Josephine once took a fancy to at Paris, and was generally placed behind her carriage. She took him to Italy, but his constant habit of pilfering made her wish to get rid of him. It was on this account he was taken with the Egyptian expedition, and as a lift to him half way on his journey home. This little monster was intrusted with the care of the emperor's wine cellar, and, after Napoleon had crossed the desert to Syria, it was found that he had sold, at a very low price, 2000 bottles of delicious claret. He thought that Napoleon would

never come back. The robbery was so glaring, that he was forced to confess it, and Napoleon was much urged to have him hanged; but he refused; because, in every sense of justice, he ought to have done as much to those knaves in embroidered clothes, who had knowingly bought and drank the wine. He therefore contented himself with discharging him, and sending him to Suez, where he was at liberty to do as he pleased.

On the 14th of December this year, the ill-advised expedition against the blacks at St. Domingo, sailed from France under Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, consisting of twenty-five ships of war, &c., having on board 25,000 men, commanded by General Leclerc, brother-in-law to the first consul. The result of this, and the fate of the black chief Toussaint, are too well known. It is but justice to add, that the sending of this army to St. Domingo was feelingly regretted by Napoleon during his exile. His neglect to declare St. Domingo free, and acknowledge the black government, he confessed as a great oversight. Possibly he might also have been touched with the fate of Toussaint and his family; but he said, that, after the peace of Amiens, he was continually beset with applications from the proprietors of estates in the colony, French merchants and others, and was obliged to comply with them.

The first consul, observing that Switzerland had for two years past been a prey to different factions, and that the ancient constitution of the Swiss, the first model of a free constitution in Europe, had been replaced by the attempts of several factions, each more monstrous than its predecessor, excited two members of the Helvetic directory, M. M. Dolder and Savary, to bring about a revolution of the same

kind as that of the 18th of Brumaire in France, in 1795. The hall of the sittings of the Swiss legislative body was accordingly surrounded, and the two dictators announced that this assembly was dissolved; and further, the constitution, as it then stood, was declared null and void. A provisional senate was then organized, consisting of twenty-five members, who were to co-operate with M. M Dolder and Savary in settling a new form of government for Helvetia. In a letter addressed to the French envoy, M. Verninac, they declared the sole object of this political movement was to second the wishes of the people of Switzerland, in whose welfare the first consul of France had condescended to take a lively interest, and to open them a way towards that moderation and wisdom, by which France had been enabled to ensure her tranquillity at home, and her prosperity abroad. However, no sooner had the French troops been withdrawn from the democratic cantons, than the inhabitants rose in arms, and, obtaining possession of the cities of Zurich, Berne, and Fribourg, appointed Aloys Reding, a man of commanding talents, the chief of the insurrection.

Much negotiation ensued, but the most unanswerable reply to all the remonstrances of the divided Swiss, was found in the introduction of a French army of thirty thousand men, under General Ney, into the Swiss territory.

On the 10th of December, 1801, Bonaparte communicated his plan of a government to fifty-six Swiss deputies, to which it was in vain to offer any opposition; the Helvetic troops were passed into the service of France; and the landamman, Louis D'Aufry, issued a proclamation, informing them that

they were received into the armies of the first consul, under whose paternal care they would forget their past sufferings. An address of thanks was also voted by the Diet to Bonaparte, on the ground "that he had restored to them their ancient constitution, the only one adapted to their wants, or consistent with the wishes of the people."

## CHAPTER XI.

*Assembly of the Consulta at Lyons—Ambition of Bonaparte—Negotiations with the British Cabinet—Treaty of Amiens—Bonaparte's Character of Marquis Cornwallis—Napoleon assumes the Title of Grand Pacificator—Remarks on the Conduct of Mr. Pitt—Treaty with Spain—Effects of Bonaparte's Elevation—Napoleon voted Consul for Life—New French Constitution—Legion of Honour—Concordate with the Pope—Bonaparte's Powers of Persuasion—Mr. Fox's Reception in France—Disagreement between France and England—Effects of the French Revolution.*

ONE of the first public acts of the year 1802, calculated for the aggrandizement of the first consul, was the assembling of the Grand Consulta of the Cisalpine republic at Lyons. Here a new constitution was hastily formed, and the name was changed from the Cisalpine to that of the Italian republic.

The ambition of Bonaparte had doubtless been the grand stimulus on this occasion. The independence of the Cisalpine republic had been an express article in the treaty of Luneville; but even pending the consequent negotiations, the first consul set off for Lyons on the 9th of January, to meet the Cisalpine deputies whom he had summoned there, accompanied by Josephine, M. Chaptal, minister of the interior, and other persons belonging to his court. But, though he entered Lyons at ten o'clock on the night of the 11th, he was received with great parade, being met by a guard of honour, formed of the young men of the best families. Bonaparte dreaded the loss of the influence he had acquired in Italy, which might probably open

the way to the return of the Austrian government. He therefore resolved upon forming the government of the Cisalpine republic in such a manner, that it should always be dependent upon France, or rather upon him. The provisional government that he had established at Milan, at his instigation, now passed a decree, appointing the convocation of an extraordinary assembly at Lyons, charged with forming new bases for the Cisalpine republic, under the auspices, and in the presence of the first magistrate of the French republic. But, though it appeared ridiculous to assemble the representatives of a nation on any other soil than their own, to deliberate upon the formation of a constitution, such was the enthusiasm with which Bonaparte had inspired them, that several of the most considerable persons among the Cisalpines contended for the honour of making a part of this *consulta*, or constituent assembly, consisting of four hundred and fifty-two members.

He assisted at the first sitting, in a tribune placed opposite the chair of the president, ornamented with trophies of arms, commemorating his victories obtained in Italy and Egypt. The Tiber and the Nile were seen at the feet of the conqueror, and above him a heaven without clouds. A committee of thirty-five members, appointed by scrutiny, presented to the assembly the project of a constitution, which was adopted almost without discussion. This precipitate act established a legislative corps, a council of state, and a president of the republic, in whom alone the executive power should reside. In communicating this project to the assembly, the committee announced, that circumstances appeared too alarming to them, to permit the new state to

exist without foreign aid; they therefore thought it necessary to request that General Bonaparte would so far honour the Cisalpine republic, as to continue to govern it, by associating it with the direction of affairs in France, till it should be acknowledged by all the other powers of Europe.

Melzi was vice-president, Guicciardi secretary of state, Spannochi grand judge. Lastly, that the day should terminate with something like feeling, as well as solemnity, Bonaparte invited the ex-count Melzi to come and sit by him; when, embracing the president, the assembly was visibly affected. Melzi was the descendant of a noble family, and one of the most considerable personages in the ancient dutchy of Milan, but had always been a strenuous opposer of Bonaparte, whom he suspected and loudly censured, on account of his ambitious views. The first consul, having thus terminated this business to his satisfaction, set out for Paris, where he arrived on the 30th of January, and was received with those acclamations that always attended his entry into that capital.

But it appears that none of the political intrigues or negotiations, in which Bonaparte engaged, had in the least degree allayed his ardent desire for concluding a peace with England. Conformably to the fifteenth article of the preliminaries that had been signed at London, in October, 1801, the French, English, Dutch, and Spanish plenipotentiaries repaired to Amiens, and were seriously engaged in negotiating a peace, intended to fix the stability of Europe. Even at this time, the possession of the island of Malta, fated to prove the cause of the renewal of the war, proved such an obstacle, as to occupy the negotiators two months

before they could come to an agreement as to what power should be put in possession of the object of debate. At length, however, the definitive treaty of peace between the French republic and the other powers, was signed at Amiens, on the 27th of March, 1802; viz. by Joseph Bonaparte on the part of France, Marquis Cornwallis for England, the Chevalier Azzara for Spain, and M. de Schimmelpennick for Holland.

The tribute paid to the noble Marquis Cornwallis on this occasion, when Napoleon was afterwards an exile at St. Helena, is expressed in the most grateful terms. He described him as a man of probity, a generous and sincere character, "*Un très brave homme.*" "He was," said Napoleon, "the man who first gave me a good opinion of the English:" his integrity, fidelity, frankness, and the nobleness of his sentiments, impressed Napoleon with a very favourable opinion of our nation: he recollected Cornwallis saying, "There are certain qualities which may be bought; but a good character, sincerity, and a proper pride, and calmness in the hour of danger, are not to be purchased." Napoleon gave him a regiment of cavalry to amuse himself with whilst at Amiens. The officers esteemed him much. He never broke his word. At Amiens the treaty was ready, and was to be signed by him at the Hotel de Ville, at nine o'clock: something happened which prevented him from going; but he sent word to the French ministers, that they might consider the treaty as having been signed, and that he would actually sign it on the following day. A courier from England arrived at night, with instructions to him to refuse his assent to certain articles but Cornwallis was a man of such strict honour



that he wrote to his government that he had promised, and that, having once pledged his word, he would keep it; that, if they were not satisfied, they might refuse to ratify the treaty. Bonaparte added that he was much grieved to hear of the marquis's death; that some of his friends occasionally wrote to him, to request favours for prisoners in France, which he always granted.

The treaty of Amiens, which consolidated the colossal power of Bonaparte, by conferring upon him the title of the Grand Pacificator, was not received with such joy in England as in France. The new acquisitions of the French republic appeared to the eyes of the discontented English in the shape of usurpations or concessions, which Lord Cornwallis was by no means authorized to sanction. The circumstance that seemed the most surprising in France was, that Mr. Pitt, then no longer in the ministry, defended the treaty of Amiens with his usual eloquence. He said he had thought, and he still thought, that the restoration of monarchy in France would be a happy event, both for that country and for Europe; but as this object could not be obtained, his government, he thought, should avail itself of that which was actually within its reach, and take into consideration the present state of the two countries; as the losses of France in its population its capital, and its industry; and to balance these with the advantages that England had acquired; as the union with Ireland; the increased reputation of the arms of England upon sea and land; the consolidation of the empire of the Indies, and the unexampled progress of commerce.

In March, Bonaparte announced to his good city of Paris his treaty with Spain, by which Louisiana

was given up to the French republic, together with the dutchy of Parma, and the isle of Elba. Bonaparte's return from Lyons was announced in the metropolis by repeated discharges of cannon,—a circumstance the more remarkable, as none of the ancient *regime* ever required such a compliment in the height of their prosperity.

This personal elevation seemed to have had a visible effect upon Bonaparte about this time, as it was observed that he assumed a greater degree of reserve, keeping not only his general officers, but his intimate acquaintance, more at a distance than ever. Even in his legislative councils, he began to display some arbitrary feelings; and by that regulation which caused one-fifth of the legislative body to go out annually by ballot, he contrived to get rid of considerable opposition. He had even the temerity to proscribe Chenier, the poet, who had been the author of one of the most popular songs in France, during the revolution, the famous *Marseillois Hymn*. Chenier, in fact, wrote most of the revolutionary songs at an early period, and greatly contributed to the animation of the public spirit; he was therefore considered as a dangerous person; as was also Benjamin Constant, a persuasive orator, and known to be a man favourable to peace, but such a peace that should be followed by civil liberty, instead of military despotism. Hence many of the republican legislators began to perceive, that any opposition offered to Napoleon must be attended with the loss of their situations and salaries.

On the 6th of May, 1802, the definitive treaty of Amiens was presented to the French tribunate, on which occasion a proposition was made in that assembly, to confer some striking mark of the public

gratitude on the "Great Pacificator" This proposal was agreed to, and having received the concurrence of the other constituent bodies, the senate, on the 8th, declared the re-election of Bonaparte to the consular dignity for ten years, succeeding the term for which he had been already chosen. When this proposal was communicated to the first consul, he declared that "it was the suffrages of the people that invested him with the chief magistracy, and that he should not consider himself secure of possessing their confidence, if the act for retaining him in that situation should not be ratified by the public voice." In compliance with his wish, registers were opened in the different departments, for inscribing the suffrages of the citizens; but the question was materially *changed*; it now stood, "Shall Bonaparte be elected first consul for life?"—A second question was subjoined; "Shall Bonaparte be invested with the power of naming his successor?"—Both questions were carried by an immense majority: 3,577,259 citizens voted in the affirmative, and 9074 in the negative. In the tribunate, only one dissentient voice was heard, that of Carnot, the minister at war. It was also opposed in the senate by Garat, Sieyes, Gregoire, and Lanjunais.

In pursuance of the plan proposed by the first consul, a new constitution was soon after laid before the legislative body. It was finally arranged, and accepted in the course of a single sitting, and immediately proclaimed to the people. The consuls were appointed for life. The first consul was to present the names of the other two to the senate, who might reject the first and second so offered, but must accept the third presentation. The

first consul was to name his successor, and to have the power of pardoning in all cases; of making war and peace; and to prescribe to the senate such subjects only that they might deliberate upon.

To this oligarchal assembly also belonged the power of suspending the functions of juries; of proclaiming departments out of the protection of the law; of determining when persons arrested in extraordinary cases were to be brought before the tribunals; of dissolving the legislative body and the tribunate.

The first consul, further considering his authority incomplete, whilst any power was left in the state that did not immediately emanate from himself, and ever anxious to aggrandize the army, now determined upon the formation of a military order of nobility, under the designation of the Legion of Honour. To this the legislature agreed, and that it should be composed of fifteen cohorts, and a council of administration. Each cohort was to consist of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty subordinate officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries. He was always to be chief of the legion, and of the council of administration, and the members were to be appointed for life. The pay of each grand officer was to be five thousand francs, and of each legionary two hundred and fifty. All military men, who had received arms of honour, were members, as well as those citizens who had rendered eminent services to the state in the late war, or who had caused the government to be respected. Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the first consul, was elected grand master of this new order; and, the more fully to rivet the interest of the government, the members of the grand

council of the legion of honour were appointed members of the senate. In fact, to depress the authority of the legislative body, founded, though imperfectly, on the principle of representation, and to exalt the senate, who depended chiefly on the choice and nomination of the first consul, were the principal objects of Napoleon, by which political liberty was in a great measure annihilated.

This acquisition of the consulship for life, and the terms obtained by the concordate with the pope, had filled the minds of the people at large with sensations of pride and gratitude. A new pontiff had been invested with the purple, as head of the Romish church, on the 13th of March, 1800: Chiaramonti, the pope elect, took the name of Pius VII., and owed his promotion in a great measure to the influence which the first consul had exercised in the conclave. It seemed that he was inclined to take the conduct of one of his predecessors, Benedict XIV., as the model for his own. He sent Cardinal Gonsalvi into France, to negotiate a concordate upon bases a little less *ultramontaine* than those of the famous concordate agreed to by Francis I. and Pope Leo X.

On the 15th of July, 1801, a convention was signed by Joseph Bonaparte, brother of the consul, and the two representatives of the holy see, Cardinal Gonsalvi and Monsignor Spina, Archbishop of Corinth. This treaty, which had been kept secret by both parties, caused the re-opening of the churches, and was made public in Paris at the same time as the treaty of Amiens, being solemnly promulgated on Easter day, by sound of trumpets and several discharges of artillery. The pomp of such a religious ceremony in a city where nothing of the

kind had been witnessed for many years, and the brilliant procession, in which the pope's legate figured with the first consul, collected innumerable spectators, who could not conceal the pleasure they felt in this partial restoration of the religion of their fathers.

The answer given by Bonaparte to the message from the conservative senate, announcing the prolongation of his consulship for ten years, contained expressions in some degree prophetic: "Fortune," said he, "has smiled upon the republic; but Fortune is inconstant: how many men, upon whom she has heaped her favours, have not lived too long by some years! The interest of my glory and happiness seems to have marked the period of my public life, at the moment when the peace of the world is proclaimed: but you think that I owe the nation a new sacrifice; I will make it, if the wishes of the people correspond with the command authorized by your suffrages."

This personal elevation had its ample share in contributing to the number of Bonaparte's enemies. In fact, it does in some measure appear astonishing, how any individual could persuade a whole nation, day after day, to yield him up such a portion of their rights and privileges. However, among many instances that might be adduced of Napoleon's power of persuasion, one that occurred about this period is not the least remarkable.

In the beginning of the summer of 1802, some officers of rank, enthusiastic republicans, took considerable umbrage at Bonaparte's conduct, and determined to go and remonstrate with him upon the points that had given them offence, and to speak their minds to him very freely. In the evening of

the same day, one of the party gave the following account of the interview:

"I do not know whence it arises, but there is a charm about that man, which is indescribable and irresistible. I am no admirer of his; I dislike the power to which he has risen: yet I cannot help confessing, that there is something in him which seems to speak him born to command. We went into his apartment, determined to declare our minds to him; to expostulate with him warmly, and not to depart till our subjects of complaint were removed. But in his manner of receiving us there was a certain *je ne sais quoi*, which disarmed us in a moment; nor could we utter one word of what we had intended to say. He talked to us for a long time, with an eloquence peculiarly his own, explaining, with the utmost clearness and precision, the necessity for steadily pursuing the line of conduct he had adopted, and, without contradicting us in direct terms, controverted our opinion so ably, that we had not a word to say in reply; so that we left him, having done nothing else but listen to him, instead of expostulating with him; and fully convinced, at least for the moment, that he was in the right, and that we were in the wrong."

During the summer of 1802, Paris was visited by a very great number of Englishmen of rank and distinction, and, among the rest, by Mr. Fox, who was received by the first consul, and indeed by the whole French nation, with the highest marks of honour and respect. His arrival in France was announced in the *Moniteur*: even at Calais, Mr. and Mrs. Fox were waited on by the municipality in their scarfs, when, after expressing his congratula-

tions, the mayor inquired of Mrs. Fox, if they would order any particular play for the evening. At Lisle, Mr. Fox experienced similar attentions, the theatre being illuminated for his reception. At Paris, crowds hastened to hail him: he here received addresses from all the learned and public bodies; he was visited by persons of the greatest celebrity; and his reception at the new French court was perfectly flattering. To talk of Mr. Fox was not enough: it became the rage with the Parisians to imitate his speaking, his dress, his manners, his looks, his habits, and even his dinners. It was the fashion to be a thinking man—to think like Mr. Fox! Not only among statesmen and generals was Mr. Fox distinguished, and his society courted; he attracted every eye at the opera; his picture was in every window, and medallions bore his likeness; while the enchanting Madame Recamier, constant in her attentions to him, whirled or paraded him through the whole circle of beaux and elegantes.—“Come,” said she, “I must keep my promise, and show you on the promenade. The people of Paris must always have a spectacle: before you came, I was the fashion; it is a point of honour, therefore, that I should not appear jealous of you. You must attend me, sir.”

Whatever were his intentions, Bonaparte therefore enjoyed the satisfaction of knowing that he had secured his object. Mr. Fox, we are assured, always recalled this period of his life with satisfaction. “Bonaparte,” observed Mr. Fox, after their interviews together, “is a man as magnificent in his means, as in his ends; he is a most decided character, and will hold his purpose with more constancy, and through a longer interval than is im-



agreed; his views are not directed to this kingdom he looks only to the continent. His commercial enmity is but a temporary measure, and never intended to be acted upon as permanent policy."—"I never saw," added Mr. Fox, on another occasion, "so little indirectness in any statesman as in the first consul. He made no secret of his designs."

Napoleon, during his residence at St. Helena, having occasion to speak of Mr. Fox, which he did in very warm terms, mentioned the cordial reception he met with in France, and related, that one day Mr. Fox went with his family to see St. Cloud, where there was a private cabinet, which had not been opened for some time, and was never shown to strangers. By some accident, Fox and his wife opened the door and entered. There he saw the statues of a number of great men, chiefly patriots such as Sydney, Hampden, Washington, Cicero, Lord Chatham, and, among the rest, his own, which was first recognised by his wife, who said, "My dear, this is yours!" This little incident, though trifling, gained Fox great honour, and spread directly through Paris.

Unfortunately for the continuance of the promised happiness of this period, the war of *words*, which finally led to a rupture of the peace of Amiens, commenced soon after the treaty had been signed. On the 4th of June, 1802, a despatch from Mr. Merry, the British minister at Paris, was received by Lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state, stating that M. Talleyrand had complained to him of the countenance given by the British court to the French princes, the *ci-devant* French bishops; to Georges, and other individuals inimical to the French

government; that it was the first consul's wish that the British government should remove those persons out of the British dominions; and he thought the residence of Louis XVIII., then at Warsaw was the proper place for the rest of the family. M. Talleyrand added, that the first consul solicited no more than the British government had demanded of France when the pretender resided in that country.

In the month of July, M. Otto, the French minister at London, transmitted a note to Lord Hawkesbury, demanding, in the name of his government, the punishment of M. Peltier, for a gross libel which he had published on the first consul and the whole French nation. He also complained of the libellous paragraphs in the *Courier de Londres*, a French paper published in London, and other by Mr. Cobbett, &c.

In September, the senatus consultum at Paris passed an act, by which Piedmont was formally united to France. It was divided into six departments; the Sezia, the Po, the Doria, the Stura, the Tanaro, and the Marengo.

In the month of October, a despatch from Mr. Liston, dated from the Hague, was addressed to Lord Hawkesbury, complaining that a French corps of ten or eleven thousand men, who were to have been withdrawn from Holland on the conclusion of the definitive treaty with Great Britain, still remained there. As to the guarantees for Malta, in case of our giving it up, there also seemed to be no small reluctance in Prussia and Russia. In the mean time Lord Whitworth had repaired to Paris, in the capacity of British minister at the court of the Tuilleries, and M. Otto was superseded by Gen

eral Andreossi, at the court of St James. Lord Whitworth received a despatch from Lord Hawkesbury, dated November 30, 1802, which related to a complaint made against England, of delaying the fulfilment of one of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, that provides for our evacuation of Egypt. On this subject his lordship was instructed to state, that, although General Stuart had informed Colonel Sebastiani of his inability to leave Egypt till he should receive specific orders for that purpose, yet that this delay had arisen entirely from a misunderstanding on the part of the general: but, to obviate any further difficulties, fresh instructions had been sent to him, directing him to remove the king's troops from that country as soon as possible.

From these, and similar causes of contention still nourished by the enemies of Peace, it was easy to see that her olive branch would not wave much longer over the nations that had scarcely begun to experience her blessings. The interval she had this year introduced, was only a pause between the shocks of an earthquake about to renew its devastation. But even at this period, still distant from the winding up of the catastrophe, Europe had already been shaken to its centre, and whole nations had alternately appeared upon the theatre of war, in consequence of the French revolution, the issue of which had even then baffled all human calculation.

Forced to entertain fourteen armies at once, to oppose a proportionate resistance to the enemy's preparations, France was compelled to search for men capable of commanding amongst her own population. They appeared as soon as called for, and, spreading themselves wherever the flames of war were lighted up, they every where performed

prodigies. As victories became more frequent, bravery, excited by emulation, became more brilliant; and the battles, in which the greatest number of warriors were engaged, were of the most sanguinary description. The French armies, that fought at great distances from each other, animated their own courage by the communication of the details of their mutual success, which, in an energetic manner, they then called exchanging victories. From this reciprocal ambition of glory, and the general concourse of so many minds, excited by military enthusiasm, the natural result of all was, what actually happened, a general agitation throughout Europe.

The memory of any invasion of territory upon a grand scale had been lost in Europe for a considerable period. But the French revolution, in breaking the bands that had united the various states, at once destroyed that equilibrium that the different courts had established at so great an expense, and in which their principal safety consisted. United against France alone, these same courts gave a fatal example to the great nation they wished to punish, and which inspired it with a wish for vengeance, that for a long time remained unallayed.

The French nation, irritated by the efforts made to compress it within narrower limits, caused its armies to overrun several countries at once, and they seemed resolved not to lay down their arms till they should have converted their vanquished foes into friends or subjects. Such a system, followed up with such obstinacy that nothing but the force of the elements could prevent its entire development, could not but produce those unexpected revolutions, which all at once transformed the

face of several states. In fact, what epoch was ever so fruitful in great changes? When did the fortune of war exercise a more powerful influence, or give place to so many political vicissitudes? Some nations were expunged from the map of Europe; great states were weakened; thrones overturned; republics established, and kingdoms created; princes became obscure individuals, and obscure individuals became princes and kings. All the ancient social relations were destroyed; constitutions abolished or modified; a new direction given to commerce, and an immense spring communicated to every branch of civilization, in the midst of a general war, without end or object.

Such was the spectacle worthy the observation of all ages, which the astonishing events of the French revolution presented, in its rise and progress.

Torn by this intestine war, and at the same time attacked by all the powers of Europe, France, after the battle of Neerwinden, saw foreign armies suddenly precipitating themselves upon her territory like a torrent. What energy must not those men have possessed, who did not despair of saving the country at such a moment as this! But, notwithstanding this danger, new armies were organized and for a long time sustained the struggle with great loss. French soldiers seemed to derive advantages from defeats. Generals were formed in the art of commanding and manœuvring upon their own frontiers. At length, the battles of Hondschoot and Watigney were gained; the lines of Weisseburg were forced, and the victory of Fleurus opened to the French a career of victory, which was only suspended by the treaty of Amiens in 1802.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Symptoms of an approaching Rupture—A Despatch from Lord Whitworth—Philippic against English Newspapers—Malin—Report of the French Colonel Sebastiani on the State of Egypt—Pacific Disposition of Mr. Fox—Assassins sent from England to France—Proposal made to the King of France at Warsaw—Dignified Answer—Lord Whitworth's Interviews with the First Consul—Veracity of Lord Whitworth's Statements of Bonaparte's Conversation strongly impeached—Negotiations at Paris—Arrival of Lord Whitworth from Paris—Commencement of Hostilities, and Seizure of British Subjects in France—French Declaration—Invasion of Hanover—Blockade of the Elbe and the Weser.*

EVEN previous to the commencement of this year, peace might have been seen gradually vanishing from the clouded hemisphere of politics; but now of its final departure very little doubt remained. A despatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, 27th of January, consisted of the report of a conversation that had taken place on the Tuesday evening preceding, relative to two points equally important to the maintenance of a good understanding between the two countries. This occurred between Lord Whitworth and M. Talleyrand, who pronounced a most bitter philippic against English newspapers, and assured Lord Whitworth that the first consul was extremely hurt to find that his endeavours to conciliate, had hitherto produced no other effect than to increase their abuse. To this his lordship replied, that whatever was said in the English papers might be considered as a retaliation for what was published in those of France. Secondly, that what was off-

cially published in that country was by no means so in England; that the English government could not have any similar control over the papers, as the first consul had in France; and that till he could so far master his feelings, as to be indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints, this state of irritation must remain without a remedy. On the subject of the evacuation of Malta, the French minister said, another grand master would soon be elected, and that all the guarantees were ready, excepting those of Russia, whose scruples on that point would be easily overcome; consequently, the time would very soon arrive, when Great Britain could have no pretext for retaining possession of Malta. To this Lord Whitworth replied, that he would report this conversation to the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, and would communicate the answer to the French minister, as soon as it was received.

In this answer the British minister was directed to reply, "That the late treaty of peace was negotiated on a basis not merely proposed by his majesty, but specially agreed to in an official note by the French government, viz. that his majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests, for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the continent; and that his majesty was warranted in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His majesty, however, anxious to prevent all grounds of misunderstanding, was willing to have waived the pretensions he might have of this nature, if the notice of his government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to

the first consul. His majesty, therefore, could no regard the conduct of the French government on various occasions, without feeling it necessary for him distinctly to declare, that it would be impossible for him to enter into any further discussions relative to Malta, unless he should obtain satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication.

The report of Colonel Sebastiani, inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 30th of January, consists of observations made in the discharge of a mission, undertaken by order of the French government, to the principal cities of Syria and Egypt. The remarks of the colonel are more military than commercial.

Napoleon, whilst at St. Helena, seemed to think, that, had Fox lived, there would have been a peace, and that England would have been contented and happy. "He was," said he, "received with a sort of triumph in every city in France, through which he passed. *Fêtes*, and every honour the inhabitants could confer, were spontaneously offered wherever he was known. It must have been a most gratifying sensation to him, to be received in such a manner by a country which had been so long hostile to his own, particularly when he saw that they were the genuine sentiments of the people. Pitt, probably, would have been murdered. I liked Fox, and loved to converse with him."

Napoleon recounted the noble manner in which Mr. Fox had related to him the proposal made to assassinate him while he was in the administration, which generous act Bonaparte did not fail to compare with the treatment he received at St. Helena, and with the attempts made upon his life by hired wretches in 1803, who were landed in France by



British ships of war. He also mentioned what many persons well remember, viz. that his assassination had been recommended in the English ministerial newspapers of the time as a meritorious action.

Alluding to these assassins, Napoleon said, "They had republished in London, at the same time, a pamphlet, called '*Killing no Murder*,' which had been originally printed in Cromwell's time, for the purpose of inculcating a belief that assassinating me was a praiseworthy and meritorious action, and by no means a crime. Fox, indeed, was of a contrary opinion. That great man wrote to Talleyrand, and informed him that a *coquin* (a scoundrel) had applied to him in London, with a proposal to assassinate me."

On the 26th of February, 1803, a personage of prominent distinction, employed by high authority, waited on the king of France at Warsaw, and verbally made to his majesty, in terms the most respectful, but at the same time the most urgent, and, in the opinion of him who urged them, the most persuasive, the most astonishing proposal to renounce the throne of France, and to require the same renunciation on the part of all the members of the Bourbon family: the envoy moreover observed, that, as a price of this sacrifice, Bonaparte would secure indemnities to his majesty, and even a splendid establishment. His majesty, strongly animated by that sentiment which is never obliterated from elevated minds, immediately wrote the following answer, which he delivered on the 28th of February, to the person who was deputed to him.

## ANSWER OF THE KING.

“I am far from being inclined to confound M Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour and his military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims; for otherwise he himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question, by the very step he has now taken.

“I cannot pretend to know what may have been the intention of the Almighty, respecting my race and myself, but I am well aware of the obligations imposed upon me, by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a descendant of St. Louis, I shall endeavour to imitate his example, by respecting myself, even in captivity and in chains. As successor of Francis the First, I shall at least aspire to say with him, *• We have lost every thing but our honour.*’

(Signed)

“LOUIS.”

On the 2d of March, the king wrote to Monsieur, acquainting him with what had passed, and instructing him to make known the same to the princes of the blood who were in England, taking charge himself to inform such of them respecting it who did not reside in that country. On the 22d of April, Monsieur called a meeting of the princes, who, with equal alacrity and unanimity, signed an

adhesion to the answer of the king, of the 28th of February.

This overture left no doubt on the minds of persons of discernment, that Bonaparte, having determined to extinguish even the name of republic in France, aspired to the imperial purple ; and the events which rapidly succeeded confirmed what at first appeared to be mere conjecture.

But to return to the complaints respecting Malta, and other obstacles to the continuance of peace on the part of Great Britain. It appears that, on the 18th of March, Lord Whitworth received a message from the first consul, requesting to see him at the Tuilleries. At this interview, Bonaparte entered into a heated expostulation respecting the provocations he had received from England ; and principally he complained of the non-evacuation of Malta, and of the abuse thrown out against him in the English papers. He said, "he would rather see Britain in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than of Malta." In speaking of Egypt, he said, that, if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending 25,000 men to Aboukir. "This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it for a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war: sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte."—"As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition."—He acknowl

edged there were a hundred chances to one against him, but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion. He then expatiated on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of 480,000 men—for to this amount it is, said he, to be immediately completed—all ready for the most desperate enterprises; and England with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it. The first consul concluded with declaring—"To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the English prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the treaty."

For some days Lord Whitworth had no means of ascertaining the effects produced on the mind of the first consul by his latest communications; but as the court was held at the Tuilleries on Sunday, March 13, his lordship, in his despatch of the 14th, said, "The first consul accosted me evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him I had received letters two days ago. He immediately said, 'And so you are determined to go to war?' 'No,' I replied, 'we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.'—'We have already,' said he, 'waged war these fifteen years.'—As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed, 'That is already too long.'—'But,' said he, 'you wish me to carry

t on for fifteen years more, and you compel me to it.'—I told him that was very far from his majesty's intention. He then proceeded to Count Marcaff, and the Chevalier Azzara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, 'The English wish for war; but if they be the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheath it. They pay no regard to treaties. We must henceforth cover treaties with black crape.'—He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by saying something personally civil to me—'Why these armaments? Against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France; but if you will arm, I must arm too: if you will go to war, I must go to war also. You may perhaps be able to destroy France, but not to intimidate her.'—'We desire,' said I, 'neither the one nor the other. We wish to live in good understanding with her.' 'It is requisite, then, to pay regard to treaties—wo to those who pay no regard to treaties: they shall be responsible to all Europe.'—All this passed loud enough to be heard by two hundred people who were present."

Lord Whitworth alded his persuasion, "that there was not a single person in the room, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of Bonaparte's conduct, and the total want of dignity, as well as of decency, on this occasion."

M. Talleyrand, in answer to Lord Whitworth's representation on this treatment, assured him it was far from the first consul's wish to distress him but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges brought against him by the English gov

ernment, and it was incumbent on him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe.

But when Napoleon, during his exile, was questioned as to the *manner* in which this famous interview with Lord Whitworth was carried on, he answered, "I was by no means violent. Lord Whitworth said, on leaving the room, that he was well satisfied with me, and contented with the manner in which I had treated him, and hoped that all would go on well. This he said to some of the ambassadors of the other powers. A few days afterwards, when the English newspapers arrived with his account of the interview, stating that I had been in such a rage, it excited the astonishment of every body, especially of those ambassadors, who remonstrated with him, and said, 'My lord, how can this account be correct? You know that you allowed to us that you were well contented and satisfied with your reception, and stated your opinion, that all would go on well.'—He did not know what to answer, and said, 'But this account is also true!'"

Another anecdote related of Lord Whitworth by Napoleon, whilst at St. Helena, seems to possess a still less portion of credibility; "Two days before Lord Whitworth left Paris, an offer was made to the French minister, and others about Bonaparte, of thirty millions of francs, and to acknowledge him as king of France, provided he would give up his claims upon Malta to England!"

Still the British ambassador was not withdrawn but carried on negotiations till his government proceeded so far as to require the cession of Malta by the French, when the ambassador was told, that no

consideration on earth would induce the first consul to consent to the cession of Malta in perpetuity in any shape whatever. This was given up by the British minister, who gave his consent to hold Malta for a certain number of years to be agreed upon, provided the island of Lampedosa could be obtained of the king of Sardinia. Lord Whitworth then begged M. Talleyrand to consider that England was actually in possession of Malta, and that therefore every modification, tending to limit that, was, in fact, a concession on the part of his Britannic majesty.

This argument, so nearly allied to an insult, coming from the mouth of an ambassador, was little calculated to soften the untoward disposition of the first consul. Accordingly, on the next day, M. Talleyrand was instructed to declare, that the first consul "would on no terms hear either of a perpetual or a temporary possession of Malta, (for ten years,) and that, rather than submit to such an arrangement, he would even consent to our keeping it for ever; on the ground that, in the one case, there was an appearance of generosity and magnanimity; but in the other, nothing but weakness and the effect of coercion; that, therefore, his resolution was taken, and what he had to propose was, the possession we required of the island of Lampedosa, or any of the other small isles, of which there are three or four between Malta and the coast of Africa, sufficient for a station in the Mediterranean, as a place of refuge and security for any squadron we might find it convenient to keep in that sea."

In a third conversation, that took place on Saturday the 23d of April, but with no material variation, the French minister offered Lampedosa, and

Lord Whitworth peremptorily required the formal cession of Malta. On the 26th of April, Lord Whitworth communicated the *ultimatum* of the English court *verbally* to M. Talleyrand, who desired to have it stated in writing; but to this Lord Whitworth strangely replied, "he had no authority to do so, and he would not take the responsibility upon himself." The French minister forcibly, but unavailingly, replied, "that verbal and fugitive conversations were insufficient for the discussion of such immense interests, in which no expression could be indifferent."—He at length, however, consented to receive the verbal notification of Lord Whitworth, who desired M. Talleyrand to recollect, that Tuesday, May 3d, must be the day of his departure.

Lord Whitworth afterwards complained of the delays of the French government; but these were evidently occasioned by his refusal to communicate the *ultimatum* of his court in writing. A mode of proceeding so totally new excited the greatest surprise, when the rupture of a formal treaty was in question, and yet, after several days had been spent in fruitless expectation, the first consul, to show his desire for peace, ordered that the verbal propositions of Lord Whitworth should be replied to in the same manner as if they had been regularly made under the official signature of the ambassador. It also appeared, that the high and haughty spirit of the first consul, moderated, in all probability, by the persuasions of Talleyrand, at length yielded to circumstances; and, no longer insisting on the evacuation of Malta, he was willing to refer the question to the other contracting powers of the treaty of Amiens. The British minister, it seems, had evaded any conclusion respecting the cession



of Malta, under the pretext, conveyed in an official note, that Russia had refused her guarantee, though the emperor of Germany and Prussia still remained as such. This was a false assertion, for, nearly at the same hour, "Providence," Napoleon observed, "which is sometimes pleased to confound bad faith, caused a courier to arrive from Russia, addressed to the plenipotentiaries of that power at Paris, and at London, by which his majesty, the emperor of Russia, manifested, with particular energy, the pain he felt, at learning the resolution of his Britannic majesty to keep Malta. He renewed the assurances of his guarantee, and declared that he accepted the demand made of his mediation by the first consul, if both the powers would accede to it."

Lord Whitworth, being informed of the misrepresentation of his court, with respect to Russia, without entering into any explanation, or making any endeavour to contradict or discuss this declaration, informed the French minister, that he was ordered to depart within thirty-six hours after the delivery of his last note, and renewed his demand for passports, which were forwarded to him, and he left Paris on the 13th of May, 1803, to return no more.

In England, at this crisis, nothing was hearkened to, which could tend in the least to fix the charge of culpability, or even indiscretion, on ministers. On the contrary, it was gravely and pompously said to be "a war, not for Malta, but for Egypt; not for Egypt, but for India; not for India, but for England;" and such puerilities passed as equivalent to just and logical conclusions. It necessarily follows, that the absolute and peremptory determination of the English government to retain possession of

Malta, in contempt or defiance of the treaty of Amiens, was a flagrant and inexcusable violation of public faith, and resembled the pretext for the memorable war with Holland in 1672.

Thus it will appear, that Malta was made the apple of discord, and the fatal brand, by which the flames of war, scarcely extinguished, were again lighted up.

On the 19th of May, 1803, Lord Whitworth arrived in London from Paris, and, on the day preceding, his Britannic majesty's declaration of war had been issued. The peace of Amiens had continued one year and sixteen days. In the course of a few days after this declaration had appeared, the first consul gave orders for the seizure of all the British subjects in France, and in those countries occupied by the French armies. These persons, it is understood, were either shut up in prisons, or confined to particular places, as prisoners of war, upon parole; and, according to the words of the first consul's decree, were "to answer for those citizens of the republic, who may have been made prisoners by the subjects of his Britannic majesty previous to any declaration of war." Upwards of 11,000 persons were said to have been arrested in France, in consequence of this unexpected measure. These consisted of many of the nobility, commercial men, and travellers. The seizure of two French merchant vessels in the Bay of Audierne, by two English frigates, was stated as the immediate cause of this retaliating measure. But Napoleon asserted to O'Meara, that there was property to the amount of many millions, (of francs) and above 200 ships seized, before he detained the English in France.

All the French armies were now put in motion that of Italy was strongly re-enforced; and on the side of Germany they were no less active. A considerable French army was assembled in Holland, and another on the frontiers of Hanover, by which that electorate was soon overrun, notwithstanding the duke of Cambridge was sent over as commander-in-chief. The proclamations he issued there, calling upon all the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, to rally round the standard of their country, produced no material effect upon the people, who seemed more disposed to listen to the warning voice of the French general, than to the patriotic calls of a British prince. The city of Hanover was occupied on the 5th of June, and a decree was soon issued by Bonaparte, prohibiting the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser by the vessels of British merchants, which rivers were soon declared in a state of blockade by the English. In the month of September, several towns on the French coast were bombarded, particularly Dieppe and Granville, as were also the Dutch ports from the Zandvoort, in the vicinity of Haerlem, to Scheveningen, and many vessels destroyed.

### CHAPTER XIII.

*Annual French Exposé—Discovery of the Plot of Pichegru and Georges—Cuse of Captain Wright—Napoleon's own Account of the Conspiracy—Defence of the Execution of the Duke D'Enguieu—Duplicity of Talleyrand—Violation of the German Territory—British Envoy charged with traitorous Conduct—Bonaparte proclaimed Emperor of the French—Promotion of great Officers and Generals—Protest of Louis XVIII—Arrival of the Pope at Paris—Ceremony of Bonaparte's Coronation—M. David's grand Picture—Refusal of the Ottoman Porte to acknowledge Bonaparte as Emperor of France—Preparations for an Invasion of England—Napoleon visits Boulogne—Anecdote.*

THE French legislative body was assembled on the 7th of January, 1804, and on the 16th the annual *exposé* of the state of the republic was submitted to that assembly. This was the last publication in which the ruler of France was to be contemplated as a citizen, giving an account to his fellow-citizens of the origin and success of his measures; but this represented the state of the republic in the most captivating colours. This *exposé* was designed to show, that the war had not even interrupted the plans marked out for a time of peace: the construction of roads, bridges and harbours, as well as the promotion of all objects of a similar nature, proceeded with undiminished zeal and activity. The finances were described as being in the most prosperous situation. The revenues were collected with unprecedented facility, and public credit had maintained itself against the shocks of war. In Harover, success had invariably at

tended the French troops; the Hanoverian army, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, had laid down their arms, and the cavalry of the republic had been remounted, at the expense of a possession dear to the king of England. It was in conclusion declared, that France would never acknowledge less advantageous conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens; that the most perfect harmony subsisted with the United States, Helvetia, Italy, and the Ottoman empire; and that the tranquillity given to the continent by the treaty of Luneville was secured and ratified by the proceedings of the diet of Ratisbon.

The public mind being thus prepared to repose implicit confidence in Napoleon's government, an event occurred which materially contributed to accelerate the completion of his projects, and to elevate him to the summit of his ambition. Early in the month of February, a plot was detected, the object of which was the overthrow of the existing government. The principal persons implicated in this conspiracy were, General Pichegru, Georges, Cadoudal, formerly a leader of the insurgents in Brittany, and Lajollais, a confidant of General Moreau. It likewise appeared, to a certain extent, that this general had been made acquainted with Pichegru's views, and that he had held secret meetings with that general, since his return from England to Paris. Lajollais, Moreau, and several others, were soon put under an arrest, and the treason against the consular government announced to the republic, in a report to the first consul, made by Regnier, the minister of justice, who ascribed the whole plot to England and her emissaries. On the promulgation of this report, the genius of the

French nation displayed itself in a profusion of legislative propositions, and in copious addresses. The tribunate, the senate, and the legislative body all vied with each other in terms of courtly adulation, which was followed by the army and navy. In the addresses of felicitation delivered from the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate, the first consul replied :

“ Since I have attained the supreme magistracy, many plots have been formed against my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded dangers, which gave me no fear. But I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling, when I consider the situation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this plot had been successful ; for it is principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people, that the conspiracy was formed. I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which my fate, and the will of the French people, have imposed upon me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm. My life will last as long as it will be useful for the nation ; but I wish the French people to understand, that existence, without their confidence and affection, would be for me without consolation, and for them have no object.”

Connected with this conspiracy was the case of Captain Wright, who died in the prison of the Temple, to which Pichegru had also been committed : both these officers were for some time supposed to have been assassinated privately. Captain Wright, who was cruising in a corvette in the

Bay of Quiberon, was becalmed, and taken by the French gun-boats. He had previously been fellow-prisoner with Sir Sidney Smith, and had served with him in Egypt and Syria. He had unfortunately been accused as the officer who effected the landing of Georges, Pichegru, and their companions, on the coast of France. He was again conveyed to Paris, and immured in the Temple, where he resisted every temptation to disclose the names of the persons by whom he had been employed, and by so doing fell a victim to his sense of honour and fidelity.

The account which Napoleon himself gave of the perpetrators of this conspiracy, at a period when no false colouring could in the least avail him. was as follows :

“ In different nights of August, September, and December, 1803, and January, 1804, Captain Wright landed Georges, Pichegru, Riviere, Coster, St. Victor, La Haye, St. Hilaire, and others, at Beville. The latter four had been accomplices in the affair of the infernal machine, and the others were well known as chiefs of the Chouans. Pretending to be smugglers, they concealed themselves by day in lodgings prepared for them, and travelled only in the night. They had plenty of money, and were at Paris some time before they were discovered, though the police knew from Mehée de la Touche, that a plot was going on: this man, though paid as an English spy, informed the French police of all he knew. He had several conferences with Mr. Drake, the British chargé d'affaires at Munich.”

When some of the persons who were lauded by Wright were taken up and examined it appeared

that one Mussey, who lived at Offenbourg along with the duke d'Enghien, was very active in sending money to, and corresponding with, those who had been secretly landed on the coasts. Querel, a surgeon, confessed he had been brought from England in Wright's ship along with Georges and several others, and that Georges was then in Paris, planning the assassination of the first consul.

An emigrant of the name of Bouvet, having hung himself in a state of despondency, was cut down by a gaoler, and, while recovering his senses, burst out in incoherent expressions, saying, Moreau had brought Pichegru from London; that he was a traitor, and had persuaded them all that the army were for him. These expressions excited the attention of the police: they knew that a brother of Pichegru, who had once been a monk, lived in Paris. he was arrested, and acknowledged he had seen his brother a day or two before. Moreau was also arrested. Pichegru was betrayed by one of his old friends, who had what he demanded, a hundred thousand francs. Georges eluded the vigilance of the police nearly three weeks, and was then betrayed and taken, after having shot one of his pursuers. All his accomplices were afterwards apprehended. Pichegru boasted of having been employed by the Bourbons, but afterwards, finding his case desperate, strangled himself in the prison. Georges, Coster, and seven or eight more, were executed. Moreau was condemned to two years' imprisonment, which was commuted into banishment to America.

By the confession of some of these conspirators, it was discovered that the duke d'Enghien was an accomplice and only waiting on the frontiers of



France for the assassination of Bonaparte, when he was to have entered France as the king's lieutenant. "Was I," said Bonaparte, "to suffer that the count d'Artois should send a parcel of miscreants to murder me, and that a prince of his house should hover on the borders of the country I governed, to profit by my assassination? According to the laws of nature, I was authorized to have him assassinated, in retaliation for the numerous attempts caused by him to be made upon me. He was seized, brought into France, and condemned by a law made long before I had any power there. He did not deny having borne arms against the republic; he behaved with great fortitude before the tribunal." When he arrived at Strasbourg, he wrote a letter to Napoleon, in which he offered to discover every thing, if pardon were granted to him; said that his family had lost their claims for a long time, and concluded by offering his services to Bonaparte. This letter was delivered to Talleyrand, who concealed it till some time after the duke's execution.

Had the count d'Artois been in the duke's place, Bonaparte said he would have suffered the same fate; "and," continued he, "were I *now* placed under similar circumstances, I would act in a similar manner."—The police learned by the means of Mehee's authority, that the duke d'Enghien was concerned in a plot to *terrasser*, viz. overthrow, the *premier consul*, no matter by what means.

While the duke was on his trial, Madame la Marechal Bessieres said to Colonel Ordener, who had arrested him, "Are there no possible means to save that unhappy man? Has his guilt been established beyond a doubt?"—"Madame," replied he, "I found in his house sacks of papers, sufficient

to compromise the half of France." The duke was executed in the morning, and not by torch-light, as has been represented.

After some delay, Moreau was permitted to embark for the United States of America, where he remained till 1813, when the sovereigns of Europe duly appreciating his talents, called him from exile and gave him a distinguished rank in their military councils.

The seizure of the duke d'Enghien, before-mentioned, took place at Ettenheim, on the Rhine, in the night of the 15th of March, 1804, when Ordener, one of Bonaparte's generals, crossed that river in three divisions. The guards of the elector, finding all resistance useless, opened the gates of Ettenheim, where the French troops seized the duke, and a few old priests and invalids that lived with him, and, putting him in irons, repassed the river, and conveyed him to France.

Another report from the French grand judge, issued soon after, complained that the British minister at the court of Munich was engaged in a conspiracy with persons whose object was to overthrow the government of France; that these agents had been supplied with large sums of money by the British government, which was to be used in gaining over persons employed in the powder-mills in France, and in taking every measure to disorganize the armies.

But neither internal conspiracies nor external wars appear to have diverted the mind of the first consul in the least from prosecuting the schemes of his ambition. To secure himself the permanent exercise of sovereign power, after the chief magistracy had been conferred on him for ten years, he

seemed to think the title of first consul was too simple to convey an adequate idea of the dignified elevation to which he had been raised. Equally ambitious of undivided power and titular splendour, he really aspired to the imperial purple. Thus a soldier of fortune, who, at the commencement of the French revolution, was an obscure individual, serving in the army of the republic, was successively promoted to the highest rank, and, after obtaining the chief authority in the state, was invested with the title of emperor of the French.

The measure of conferring on Bonaparte this rank and title, and making them hereditary in his family, according to the laws of primogeniture, was for the first time agitated in the tribunate in the beginning of May, when M. Curée submitted a proposition to that effect. M. Carnot strongly opposed this measure, which, however, was carried on the 3d of May, when the tribunate proceeded to vote

“That Napoleon Bonaparte, the first consul, be proclaimed emperor of the French, and in that capacity invested with the government of the French republic; that the title of emperor, and the imperial power, be made hereditary in his family, in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture; that, in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity.”

This decree, being put to the vote, was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of the vote of one member, who spoke against its adoption.

On the 18th of May the senate, in an address

presented to the first consul, entreated him to consent, that, for the glory and happiness of the republic, he might be immediately proclaimed emperor of the French.

After Napoleon had given his consent, the senate was admitted to an audience of her majesty the empress, when the consul Cambaceres addressed her on the part of that body. The *organic senatus* was then proclaimed by the emperor. His imperial majesty nominated to the dignity of grand elector, Prince Joseph Bonaparte; to that of constable Prince Louis Bonaparte; to that of arch-chancellor of the empire, the consul Le Brun. The arch-chancellor, the arch-treasurer, the constable, the ministers, the secretary of state, and General Duroc, governor of the imperial palace, took their oaths before the emperor. On the 20th of May the emperor decreed the following generals to be marshals of the empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult Brune, Lasnes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, and Bessieres. The title of marshal was also given to the senators Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serurier.

The question, whether the throne should, or should not, be hereditary, was submitted to the people, who, as might have been expected, decided in the affirmative by an immense majority.

About this time Louis XVIII. issued a protest against Bonaparte's assumption to the imperial title, as well as against all the subsequent acts to which it might give birth. This protest was dated Warsaw.

On the 9th of July, Bonaparte issued an imperial decree, directing that the oath should be taken

and the coronation ceremonies performed in the Champ de Mars on the 18th Brumaire, or 9th of November, the day on which the power of the Directory had been subverted by Bonaparte, and the consular power established on its ruins.

In order to heighten the solemnity of the occasion, the pope was sent for, and left the Vatican on the 3d of November, accompanied by four cardinals, two archbishops, and a numerous suite. The journey of the sovereign pontiff was distinguished by the homage paid him by the faithful in Italy and France, as head of the church. Having arrived at Fontainebleau on the 25th of November, he was met by Napoleon at a place called *la Croix de St Herens*, and arrived on the 29th of November at the Tuilleries, where apartments had been prepared for him, escorted by a strong guard of French troops, and two hundred and fifty hussars, who were ordered to meet him on the frontiers of the French territory.

Circumstances arose, which made it necessary to defer the ceremony of the coronation till the 2d of December. Early on the morning of the preceding day, the senate went in a body to the Tuilleries, where they were presented by Joseph Bonaparte. The president, Neufchateau, made a complimentary speech, to which the emperor replied,—“I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people, and the army, have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom from the midst of camps I first saluted with the name of great. From my youth my thoughts have been solely fixed on them; and I must here add, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or

misery of my people. My descendants shall long preserve this throne. In the camps they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget, that contempt of the laws, and confusion of social order, are the results only of the imbecility and indecision of princes. You senators, whose counsel and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors. Be ever the support and first counsellors of that throne so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire."

The weather on the 2d of December was extremely unfavourable; snow had fallen on the preceding evening, but on the following morning the sun rose extremely bright.

In the midst of an immense concourse of spectators, and of a procession of the most imposing appearance, the pope, Napoleon, and Josephine his spouse, attended the church of Notre Dame; where Pius VII. officiated with all the pomp of the Roman church. The new emperor had presented to the cathedral the sacred vases of vermillion enriched with diamonds, and magnificently ornamented, and generally with every thing necessary for the celebration of the coronation, which was accordingly performed on Sunday the 2d of December, 1804. The military deputations assembled at six in the morning, and proceeded to the church of Notre Dame by seven. The deputations from the different tribunals of justice, and the functionaries invited by the emperor, met at the palace of Justice by seven, and walked to the church, where they arrived before eight. They were succeeded by the senate, the council of state, the legislative body

and the tribunate, each escorted by a corps of cavalry. The diplomatic corps had a place assigned them in the church. The pope left the Tuilleries at nine o'clock, and at ten the departure of the emperor from the palace was announced by a discharge of artillery. Here we may remark, that never before had a pope been obliged to leave his own dominions for the purpose of crowning either emperor or king. It was reserved for the aspiring Napoleon thus to surpass all other crowned heads, in exacting obedience from the nominal head of the church, to whom all other monarchs had been in the constant habit of doing homage.

The pope and the emperor repaired to the archiepiscopal palace, where his holiness pronounced the usual prayers, while the emperor put on the imperial robes. They afterwards went in splendid procession to the church of Notre Dame. The coronation ornaments of Charlemagne were borne before Bonaparte; and he was preceded by Marshal Serrurier, carrying the ring of the empress upon a cushion, and, Marshal Moncey, with a basket to receive the empress's mantle. The empress, with the imperial mantle, was supported by the princesses. Marshal Kellerman carried the crown of Charlemagne; Marshal Perignon his sceptre; General Beauharnois his majesty's ring; Marshal Berthier the imperial globe; and the grand chamberlain the basket to receive the emperor's mantle. Bonaparte then entered the church of Notre Dame.

The imperial throne and the altar were equidistant from the centre of the church. Upon the throne was seated the emperor in his ornaments. The empress, on his right hand, was seated a step over, in an arm chair. Two steps lower than the

emperor, on the left, were seated the two princes, with the two dignitaries of the empire at their left hand. The throne on which the pope was seated, was raised near the altar. At the moment their majesties entered the porch, the pope descended from his throne, and, advancing to the altar, sang *Veni Creator*. The emperor and the empress then said prayers upon their cushions, and were immediately divested of their imperial ornaments. The grand elector took off the crown from his majesty's head; the arch-chancellor took from him the hand of justice; other grand officers stripped him of the imperial mantle, while he himself drew his sword, and delivered it to the constable of the empire. In the mean time the empress's attendants took from her the imperial mantle and ornaments, which, with all the other insignia, were placed upon the altar, for the purpose of being consecrated by the pope.

Then followed the ceremony of inauguration. The grand almoner of France, with the first of the French cardinals and archbishops, conducted their imperial majesties from the throne to the foot of the altar, there to receive the sacred unction. His holiness bestowed a triple unction both on the emperor and empress; one on the head, the other two on the hands. They were then re-conducted to the throne, when the pope performed the mass. His holiness then said prayers separately over both crowns, the mantles, the sceptres, and the hand of justice. The imperial mantles being consecrated, the emperor and empress put them on again, and the emperor afterwards placed the crown on the head of the empress. An eye-witness to this coronation asserts, that, immediately after the pope had blessed the two crowns, Napoleon in a manner



snatched that which was intended for him, placing it himself on his own head. Napoleon then took the other crown, and placed it upon the head of Josephine, who remained upon her knees at the foot of the altar. After this the pope, preceded by the master of the ceremonies, followed the emperor from the altar to the throne, where, having pronounced a prayer, he kissed the emperor on the cheek, and cried aloud to the audience, "*Vivat imperator in æternum !*"

When divine service was finished, the emperor sitting with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the Gospels, the grand master of the ceremonies pronounced the oath prescribed, before the three presidents of the senate, the legislative corps and the tribunate. After this, the principal herald at arms cried aloud—"The most glorious and most august emperor Napoleon, emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned!"

At this instant the roof of the church of Notre Dame resounded with the repeated cries of "*Vive l'empereur ! Vive l'imperatrice !*"—The pope was then re-conducted by his clergy, and the procession returned nearly in the same order as it came.

On the following day the heralds at arms proceeded through all the principal streets distributing a great quantity of medals of different sizes, intended to commemorate the coronation. On one side of the medals the emperor was represented, bearing the crown of the Cæsars, with this legend, *Napoleon Empereur* ; on the reverse was the inscription, *Le Senat et le Peuple*, with an allegorical representation of a figure clothed in the attributes of magistracy, and a warrior newly clothed with the imperial attributes.

The prospect of peace on the continent was soon overclouded by an energetic note, which had been presented to the diet of Ratisbon from the emperor of Russia, on the seizure of the duke d'Enghien. To this the French minister replied, in a tone of lofty indifference, "that the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia were undoubtedly the two powers most concerned in the fate of the German empire; and the German princes being satisfied, Napoleon felt himself in no way responsible to the emperor of Russia, on a point which did not concern his interest; and if it were the intention of his majesty to recommence the war, what need was there of empty pretences, and why did he not act openly?"

The departure of General Hedouville from Petersburg, and much angry correspondence, followed between the French and Russian ministers at Paris, in which Sweden also became a party against France, though fortunately the subsisting relations of commerce between France and the north were allowed to remain uninterrupted. But towards the close of the year 1804, the emperor Alexander after his diplomatic correspondence had been closed for some time with Bonaparte, entered into very active negotiations with the British government, at the head of which Mr. Pitt was again placed, with a determination to signalize his administration by some extraordinary effort.

But while many were in daily expectation of being again disturbed by the din of arms, Napoleon was by no means unmindful of the arts of peace. Some months before his coronation, he had expressed his wish of transmitting to posterity a picture

of the grand ceremony, by a work worthy of the high fame of the artist.

M. David eagerly embraced the proposal. Immediately the emperor sent for Prince Murat, then governor of Paris, and for Count Segur, grand master of the ceremonies, and in the presence of his first painter, ordered them to choose the most convenient place for him to see the whole ceremony, and to draw it with exactness.

The place selected was above the chief altar, so that the painter could see perfectly the choir of the church in which the coronation was to be performed, and in which all the distinguished persons, intended to be present, were to be assembled.

Immediately after the ceremony, M. David, full of his subject, went home, and sketched out the design of his work. The rough draught was made on the proportion of 18 inches by 12. The picture is 33 feet long, and 21 high.

The greatest known picture in the world, the Nuptials of Cana, by Paul Veronese, is only 33 feet long, and 18 high. This size renders it difficult to find a room large enough for the exhibition of a picture which contains 210 persons, of whom near eighty are represented from head to foot. Many of the likenesses are very striking.

This work was the result of four years' labour. On the one hand, the opposition of the Romish clergy; on the other, the emperor's orders, sometimes very difficult to put in harmony with the exact truth; and also the pretensions of powerful men, who were all ambitious of the most conspicuous place increased the difficulties of the execution.

The cardinal Caprara, for instance, who appears

bareheaded, wished to have his wig on, such being the custom followed in Romish ceremonials: M. David was desirous of painting quite bare a head, the colour of which promised so beautiful an effect.

In like manner, the emperor had ordered the Turkish envoy to be exhibited with all the other ambassadors: to this the envoy objected, because the law of the Koran forbade his entrance into a Christian church. After many negotiations, and a great loss of time, he gave his consent, under the consideration that the post and character of ambassador belongs to all religions.

M. David was often interrupted in his work by the foreign artists at Paris, who were daily soliciting the permission of being admitted into his painting room. It was difficult to resist so flattering an eagerness. Camucini, the prince of the Roman school, and the famous statuary Canova, daily made use of that permission. Camucini, at his last visit, found the artist surrounded by many of his scholars, all of them profoundly silent in admiration of his composition. On taking leave of M. David, the Italian painter bowed to him, with these remarkable words: *Adio, il più bravo pittore di scholari ben bravi.*

The picture was finished about the month of November, 1807. Previous to its public exposition, the emperor appointed a day to see it himself; it was on the 4th of January, 1808. Accordingly on that day and to honour the artist the more, he proceeded in state, attended by a detachment of cavalry and military music, accompanied by the empress, and the princes and princesses of his family, and followed by his ministers and the

great officers of the crown, to the painting-room where M. David was in waiting to receive him.

In the meantime the passions were at work. Severe criticisms had already reached the emperor and his court. The picture (according to some) was not the emperor's coronation, but that of the empress. Under the impossibility of describing all the ceremonies which he had witnessed, (and the most interesting part of them being that in which the three chief personages of the piece were acting,) the artist chose for his work the moment in which the emperor places the crown on the head of his consort : his reason for this preference was, that if he had represented Napoleon taking the crown from the altar, the pope, and the empress herself, would have been only witnesses of an act in itself undoubtedly very solemn, but one with which their presence had no necessary connexion ; the coronation of his spouse, on the contrary, supposed that that of her imperial husband was already over. The emperor was then acting as master and sovereign ; the empress was receiving the insignia of the state conferred on her ; and the pope was performing the religious functions for which his presence had been required.

This idea, therefore, which at first had been so much criticised, was fully approved by the emperor, to whom, indeed, the original conception of the artist had already been submitted. After having observed, and attentively examined the work, Napoleon said :

" M. David, this is very well, very well indeed . you have guessed my whole thought ; the empress, my mother, the emperor, are all most properly placed ; you have made me a French knight, and I am

pleased that you have thus transmitted to future ages the proofs of affection I wished to give to the empress." And, after an instant of silence, his hat on, the empress standing on his right hand, M. David on his left, and the picture in front, the emperor advanced two steps, and, facing the author, pulled off his hat, and, bowing profoundly, "M. David," said he, raising his voice, "I salute you."

"Sire," answered the painter, "I receive the compliment of the emperor in the name of all the artists of his empire; happy myself in being the one whom you deign to make the channel of such an honour."

When, in the month of October, 1808, the picture was placed in the museum, the emperor wished to see it again. M. David accordingly attended him in the hall of the Louvre, surrounded by many of his pupils. After conferring the decoration of the legion of honour on the most distinguished of them, whom, at the emperor's desire, M. David had pointed out to him, "It is fit," said Napoleon, "that I testify my satisfaction to the master of so many distinguished artists; I promote you, therefore, to be officer of the legion of honour. M. Duroc, give a golden decoration to M. David."—"Sire, I have none with me."—"No matter," replied Napoleon; "don't let this day pass without executing my order."

The grand *maréchal*, although no friend to M. David, was obliged to obey; and on the same evening the insignia was sent to the painter.

Not content with honouring the artist himself, the emperor was pleased to see his esteem for him shared by all the great persons who appeared at his court. The king of Wirtemberg, at his

suggestion, came to see M. David's work. On being shown the picture of the coronation, astonished at the luminous brightness spread over the group, in which are placed the pope and Cardinal Caprara; "I did not believe," said the king to the painter, "that your art could operate such wonders. White and black, in painting, afford but very weak resources. When you produced such an effect, doubtless you must have had a sun-beam upon your pencil."

Such a compliment discovered a peculiar and perfect knowledge of the art. M. David, astonished, after many thanks, added, "Sire, your reflection, and your way of expressing it, bespeak the artist, or the well-informed amateur. Your majesty has then learned to paint?"—"Yes," answered the king, "I sometimes occupy myself with that art; and all my brothers possess a similar taste. The one who very often calls upon you, has obtained some success in it. His performances are not at all like royal paintings; they are worthy of an artist. M. David," added he, "I dare not hope to obtain a copy of this picture: but you may indemnify me, by placing my name at the head of the subscribers to the engraving. Pray, don't forget me."

In December, news arrived of the refusal of the Ottoman Porte to acknowledge Napoleon as emperor, upon which Marshal Brune quitted Constantinople.

Among the demonstrations made by Napoleon in 1804, those at Boulogne were the most prominent. It might have been remarked, that, after he had occupied Hanover, he lost no time in exciting the ideas of an invasion of England. Orders were

sent to repair the old batteries on the French coasts, or to establish new ones. The formation of a hundred companies of volunteer gunners was ordered, and several others of sedentary *gardes côtes*, composed as much as possible of men who had learned the use of artillery during the late war, but had retired from the service. The project of a descent on England was again put forward and, in the impatience of the first consul to avenge British duplicity, he made an appeal to the French nation, and to its patriotism, still more energetic than that of 1801. The *delenda Carthago* became the favourite expression of every one who wished to pay his court to the chief of the French government. Addresses poured in from all parts of France, professing devotion and attachment without limits.

According to the new plan adopted by the first consul, he meant to make use of gun and flat-bottomed boats, in his projected descent; which, being principally managed with oars, might possibly escape the British cruisers, as well as the shot of the larger vessels, from the smallness of their size, especially at a time of the year when fogs are so frequent in the channel, or when bad weather will not permit larger vessels to keep the narrow seas. A hundred and sixty thousand soldiers were to embark on board these frail barks, to land upon the British coast; and, if this should succeed, the conquest of England was calculated upon as a certain and infallible consequence. This illusion for a time seemed to have turned all heads in France, and every citizen was willing to contribute something to this romantic undertaking.



In the midst of these preparations, Bonaparte wished to reconnoitre the new theatre, upon which he intended again to put the courage and constancy of the French to the proof. He left Paris on the 24th June, 1804: after passing through Amiens, Abbeville, and Montreuil sur Mer, he arrived at Boulogne on the 1st of July; he then visited Borgues, Cassel, Ballieul, Armentiers, and Lisle, on the 7th of July. Taking his course afterwards towards Belgium, he successively visited Ypres, Nieuport, Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, in which tour he occupied fourteen days. At Antwerp he gave directions for forming a grand navigable canal, to communicate with the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt. This was his first essay for making Antwerp the grand *dépôt* of all the commerce of the north of Europe, and which was afterwards completed. The enthusiasm of the Belgians was every where excited by Napoleon's presence, who were then more gratified by their re-union with France than ever. The inhabitants of Brussels, Louvain, Maestricht, Liege, Namur, and Aix-la-Chapelle, testified the most unfeigned admiration and respect, equal to any he had received in Old France, which he again entered at Mezieres, traversing a part of Champaigne, through Charleville, Sedan and Rheims, and returned to Paris on the 12th of August, after a six weeks' absence from that capital.

It was during another journey in this part of his dominions, that, having experienced the intrepidity and bravery of British seamen, Napoleon paid them a just tribute, and generously rewarded them for the proofs they had given him of their

superiority. He was at Givet with the empress Marie Louise, and stopped at that place to rest. During the night, a violent storm of wind and rain came on, which swelled the Meuse so much, that the bridge of boats over it was carried away. Napoleon was very anxious to depart, and ordered all the boatmen in the place to be assembled, that he might be enabled to cross the river. They said the waters were so high, that it would be impossible to pass before two or three days. He questioned some of them, and soon discovered that they were fresh water seamen. Napoleon then recollected, that there were English prisoners in the barracks, and ordered that some of the oldest and best seamen amongst them should be brought before him to the banks of the river. The waters were very high, and the current rapid and dangerous. He asked them if they could join a number of boats, so that he might pass. They answered, that it was possible, but hazardous. Napoleon desired them to set about it instantly. In the course of a few hours, they succeeded in effecting what the other *imbecilles* had pronounced impossible; and he crossed before the evening was over. Napoleon ordered those who had worked at it to receive a sum of money each, a suit of clothes, and their liberty. Marchand was with him at the time.

The situation of affairs in England at the end of the year 1804, and the alarm that the formidable preparations for a descent upon the soil of Great Britain had excited, led Napoleon to suppose that George III. would be more inclinable to peace than under circumstances less favourable, and

induced him to take a step which, if crowned with success, might have rendered the commencement of the year 1805 one of the most remarkable epochs of the late reign. That this attempt was made by the French emperor, and in a singular manner, will appear in the succeeding chapter.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Letter of Napoleon to George the Third—The Emperor Alexander concludes a Treaty with Great Britain—The new Kingdom of Italy—Bonaparte's Visit to Milan, and Coronation—Genoa annexed to France—Piombino and Lucca given to the Emperor's Sister—Austria joins the Coalition against France—Boulogne again visited by Bonaparte—Flotilla dismantled, and the Army withdrawn from the Coast—Bonaparte leaves Paris, and arrives at Strasbourg—Movements of the French Armies—Official Bulletins—Surrender of Ulm—Napoleon at Munich—Bavaria—The Emperor of Germany—Affairs of Amstetten, Marienzell—Vienna evacuated by the Austrians—Battle of Diernstein—French Troops pass through Vienna—The Emperor Napoleon's Residence in the Palace of Schoenbrunn—Affairs of Hollebrunn and Schoen Grabern—Battle of Tuntersdorf—Head Quarters at Znaim—A Ruse de Guerre—Prince Dolgeruck's Interview with Napoleon—Order of the Day before that of the Battle of Austerlitz—Devotion of the Soldiers—Account of the Battle—Bulletins written by Bonaparte—Interview between him and the Emperor of Germany—Retreat of the Russian Army—The Love of Liberty effaced by a Passion for military Glory—The Campaign of 1805 in Italy—Treaty of Presburg—The Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg declared Kings.*

THE measure adopted by Bonaparte, as a consequence of his elevation to the imperial dignity, was to transmit new overtures to the British government, in the form of a letter written by his own hand, and addressed to his Britannic majesty. This letter was couched in the following terms :

“ SIR, AND BROTHER,

“ Called to the throne of France by Providence and by the suffrages of the senate, the people, and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity

They may contend for ages ; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties and will not so much blood shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, condemn them in their own consciences ? I consider it no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world, that I fear none of the chances of war ; it, besides, presents nothing that I need to fear ; peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that sweet satisfaction to your children ; for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. The moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war, which all my efforts will not be able to terminate ? Your majesty has gained more in ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity. What can it hope from war ?—To form a coalition with some powers of the continent ? The continent will remain tranquil : a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France.—To renew intestine troubles ? The times are no longer the same.—To destroy our finances ? Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture can never be destroyed.—To take from France her colonies ? The colonies are to France only a secondary object ; and does not your majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve ?—If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any

presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect,—to fight merely for the sake of fighting! The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover the means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your majesty will believe the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it. &c.

(Signed)

“NAPOLEON.”

As it was not customary for an English sovereign to communicate directly with a foreign potentate, an answer was returned by Lord Mulgrave, addressed to the French minister. The secretary of state for foreign affairs intimated his majesty's wish to procure the blessings of peace on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe; but stated the impracticability of more fully meeting the overture now made, until communications had been held with the powers of the continent, with whom his majesty was engaged in confidential connexions and relations, particularly the emperor of Russia.

The transmission of Napoleon's letter to the king of England was not known at Paris till the 4th of February; it had been kept a secret between the emperor and his minister, Talleyrand; but the continued silence of the British ministry on the subject having induced the opinion, that the question, not being agreeable, would be decided in the British councils in the negative, Napoleon ordered his minister of foreign affairs to lay a copy of the

king's answer to it before the three chambers of the legislature, together with the evasive communication of Lord Melville on the same subject.

The object which Napoleon had in view, in communicating his correspondence with the king of Great Britain to his chamber, was to prove to the people, that he had not neglected any means to get rid of the scourge of war. Consequently, his generosity, his greatness of mind, and moderation, were exalted to the skies, and the responsibility of the continuation of hostilities charged upon England.

In May, 1805, the storm, that had again been raised against France, began to overspread the political horizon. On the 11th of April, Russia concluded a treaty with Great Britain, by virtue of which, in consideration of a subsidy, she was to put on foot an army of a hundred and eighty thousand men, and to form a coalition, with the view of rescuing Hanover from France, withdrawing the influence of that power from Switzerland and Holland, and for giving what they called a *frontier* to Austria; to effect the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples by the French, and to replace the king of Sardinia upon the throne of Piedmont.

Though Austria had officially complimented Napoleon upon his new dignity, this power did not seem to entertain more favourable dispositions towards France than its declared enemies; but willingly lent an ear to agents sent to draw her into the new league then in agitation. Great activity was soon observed in the aulic council at war at Vienna, followed by a continual movement of troops in the empire; and under the pretext

of establishing a cordon to check the progress of an epidemic disease that raged at Leghorn, an Austrian army was assembled upon the Adige.

It was impossible that Napoleon could be duped by the pacific assurances that he received, in answer to his representations on this subject, from the court of Vienna; the English papers too clearly explained the real object of that power. Napoleon, however, meant to wait the course of events, and leave to the emperor of Austria the odium of having first broken the peace.

In the mean while, Napoleon's principal attention was drawn towards Italy, naturally suspecting the first hostilities would break out upon the Adige. The French troops in Italy had orders to keep on the *qui vive*; whilst, to encourage the Italians who had shaken off the Austrian yoke, Napoleon no longer indulged the least hesitation in putting upon his head the iron crown of the kings of the Lombards. In reality, as Napoleon had established royalty in France, he could not think of suffering a republic to subsist in the north of Italy; and as, during his consulship, he had prepared the French for an imperial regimen, he had also brought the Italian republic into such a state, that it was impossible to preserve its independence. From its first existence, this republic had been led by him, as it were, in leading strings; but from the moment he was declared emperor of France, a change in the Italian constitution was to be expected.

In order to be more sure of the assent of his new subjects, he used the same means as he had adopted in the year 1802. He summoned the Italian consulta to meet him at Paris, for the pro



fessed purpose of adding those modifications and changes that times and circumstances had rendered necessary.

On the 17th of March, M. de Melzi, vice-president of the Italian republic, arrived at Paris at the head of a deputation from the Cisalpine republic, to express their cordial acquiescence in a monarchical and hereditary government; and also their wishes, that Napoleon, being proclaimed king of Italy, would not suffer a year to elapse before he came to be crowned at Milan.

It was stipulated, that the throne of Italy should be hereditary in the male line, both natural and adopted; but that the right of adoption should not extend to any other person than a citizen of the French empire, or of the kingdom of Italy; that the crown of Italy should not be united to that of France, except upon the head of the present emperor.

Napoleon, on the first of April, visited the southern departments of France, passed through Piedmont, which had been united to France in 1802, and made his entry into Milan, the capital of his new kingdom of Italy, on the 8th of May. The fears which the people so lately entertained of the Austrians were so great, that Napoleon was received like a guardian angel.

The ceremony of the coronation, and the anointing of Napoleon and Josephine, as king and queen of Italy, took place in the cathedral of Milan, much in the same manner, and with the same ceremonies, as that at Paris.

The constitutional act was published on the 7th of June, founded upon bases nearly similar to those of the French empire. On the same day

Napoleon opened the sittings of the legislative corps, and nominated as governor of the kingdom, during his absence, the prince Eugene Beauharnois, his adopted son, who immediately took the oath of fidelity prescribed by the constitutional act.

The next place fixed upon for a union with France was the city of Genoa. It was, however, determined to make the annexation of this place and its dependencies appear to result from the proposal of the senate and people of Genoa; and the senate, after due deliberation, resolved that an address should be presented to the French emperor, praying that he would allow the republic of Genoa to be permanently united to the French empire.

This address was signed by great numbers of the inhabitants, besides the senate; and it was ordered that an embassy, consisting of the doge, and the deputies of the senate and people, should proceed to Milan, for the purpose of laying this document at the feet of the emperor. Upon their arrival, the emperor listened to them with attention, and afterwards addressed the doge upon the necessity of this union; promising them, that he should realize their expectations, in uniting them to his great people. Napoleon nominated Lebrun, arch-treasurer of the empire, governor of the new departments formed out of the Ligurian territory.

Piombino, a little principality in the kingdom of Etruria, had already been given by the emperor of the French to his sister Eliza, the spouse of a Corsican officer named Bacciocchi, and who was on this occasion created a prince. During his stay in Italy, Napoleon joined the territory of the republic

of Lucca to that of Piombino, without altering the aristocratical forms by which this little country had been governed for many ages. After having made these arrangements, he returned to Paris, where matters of much higher import claimed his presence.

About the time that the emperor Alexander had signed the new treaty with the English government, he sent a plenipotentiary to Berlin, and another to Vienna, to support the interest of England, and induce Austria to enter into the third coalition against France without delay. The chief of the French government was represented as crowned with the diadem of Charlemagne, and at the head of a numerous army ready to require, by force of arms, the faith and homage of all the liege sovereigns of Europe. This consideration, joined to the offer of subsidies on the part of England, fixed the resolution of the emperor Francis; and, whilst the ambassador from the court of Vienna at Paris declared officially to Napoleon, that his master entertained the most pacific intentions, and cordially wished for the renewal of negotiations tending to re-establish a maritime peace, the ambassador from the same court at St. Petersburg acceded, in the name of his sovereign, to the coalition formed between England, Sweden, and Russia, to attack France.

Though Napoleon was by no means the dupe of this diplomatic conduct, and similar representations that followed, he still thought he had time enough left to renew the alarms that had been excited in England by his preparations at Boulogne. The season of the year most favourable for such an attempt was approaching; all the vessels were

collected, and both soldiers and sailors were anxious to be conducted towards the British shore. Resolving upon another visit to the coast, Napoleon left Paris on the 2d of August, 1805, for the camp of Boulogne, where his appearance produced all the effect he had anticipated. The British ministry, alarmed more than ever at the state of the public feeling at home, ordered their agents at the court of Vienna to signify to the Austrian government, that it was necessary they should commence immediate hostilities against the French, or give up the expectation of receiving the promised subsidies. It was in vain that the emperor's ministers represented that their master was not yet ready; that it was necessary to await the arrival of the Russians, and their junction with the Austrian armies. England persisted in her demands, and the emperor was forced to accede to a precipitate opening of the campaign.

But whilst these transactions were passing in Germany, Napoleon was by no means inactive. Accordingly, whilst he was last at Boulogne, he seemed suddenly to have altered his plans: he issued orders to dismantle the flotilla in that harbour, and directed the troops to march from the coast to the banks of the Rhine. Similar orders were at the same time transmitted to General Marmont in Holland; and Marshal Bernadotte was also directed to proceed with his force from Hanover towards Franconia. A rupture having now become unavoidable, the elector of Bavaria, of whom strong suspicions were entertained by the allied powers, was called upon by Austria to incorporate his troops with the Austrian army, which not being agreed to, the latter in full force passed

the Inn, in September, and treated the elector's territory as a conquered country. The elector was obliged to take refuge at Wurtzburg.

Intelligence having been received at Paris of these proceedings, the senate was convened, and, in a speech from the throne, the emperor informed them, that he was about to place himself at the head of his army, in order to afford immediate relief to his allies, and to defend the dearest interests of his people. The war had, he informed them, already commenced, by the invasion of Bavaria, and the elector had actually been driven from his territories. On this occasion two decrees were passed,—the one for the immediate levy of eighty thousand conscripts, and the other for re-organizing and embodying the national guard. The emperor appointed Joseph Bonaparte to superintend the government in his absence.

Napoleon quitted St. Cloud on the 24th of September, and arrived at Strasbourg on the 27th. where he awaited the arrival and concentration of the troops which were to form the grand army that he intended to conduct into Germany.

When the emperor Napoleon arrived at Strasbourg, the greatest part of the French army, which had proceeded by rapid marches from the coast, passed the Rhine at Manheim, Spires, and Durlach, under the Marshals Davoust, Soult, and Ney. Marshal Lasnes, with his division, and the reserve of cavalry under Prince Murat, had crossed on the preceding day at Kehl. The French army of Hanover, of about twenty thousand men, under Bernadotte, having marched by Gottingen and Frankfort, had arrived at the head-quarters of the elector of Bavaria at Wurtzburg. Here Ber

bernadotte was soon after joined by General Marmont, and the Gallo-Batavian army, which had crossed the Rhine at Mentz, and, by this union, the force collected at Wurtzburg amounted to upwards of sixty thousand men.

Bonaparte's plan for opening the German campaign was of a masterly character. In order to avoid the inconveniences of passing through the Black Forest, he resolved to advance along the northern bank of the Danube, and, passing that river below the position of the Austrians, place himself between them and the Russians. As it was necessary that this project should be executed with the utmost secrecy and rapidity, Prince Murat was ordered to manœuvre near the passes of the Black Forest, to induce the Austrians to believe the French meant to force a passage in that direction. General Mack fell into this snare, and advanced with the greater part of his army to oppose Murat. At length he discovered his error, and was suddenly compelled to change all his plans. In the mean while the French had traversed the electorate of Wirtemberg and the plains of Nordlingen with the greatest rapidity; and, on the 16th of October, Marshal Soult arrived at the head of his division on the Danube at Donauwerth, and obtained possession of the bridge at Munster. Marmont, having unexpectedly penetrated through the Prussian territory of Anspach, soon after arrived with Bernadotte and his division at Ingoldstadt. From this moment the issue of the campaign appeared to be decided. The Austrians under General Mack did not exceed eighty thousand men, while a French force nearly double that number was posted in his rear, and the

communications with the Austrian states nearly cut off.

The official bulletins of this campaign of a few days have so much brevity and force about them, that it would be difficult for other words to convey superior or adequate ideas of the rapid and brilliant succession of the events they relate.

The first of these, after enumerating the different corps that had passed the Rhine, mentions Prince Murat remaining for several days in position before the defiles of the Black Forest. His patrols which often showed themselves to the enemy's patrols, induced them to believe that it was our intention to penetrate by these defiles. The great park of artillery passed the Rhine at Kehl on the 30th of September, and advanced towards Heilbronn. The emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st of October at Kehl, slept at Ettlingen the same evening, and received there the elector and princess of Baden, and went to Louisburgh, to the elector of Wirtemberg, in whose palace he took up his abode.

On the 6th of October, the second division of General Soult's corps of the army, under the command of General Vandamme, stopped only two hours at Nordlingen, and, continuing its march, arrived at eight in the evening at Donawerth, and took possession of the bridge, which was defended by the regiment of Colloredo. Some men were killed, and some were made prisoners.

On the 8th, at day-break, Prince Murat, at the head of Beaumont's and Klein's divisions of dragoons, and the division of carabiniers and cuirassiers commanded by General Nansouty, marched to cut off the route from Ulm to Augsburg. On his arrival at Wertingen, he perceived a considera

ble division of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of Albert's cuirassiers. He immediately surrounded the whole of this corps. Marshal Lannes, who was marching in the rear of these divisions of cavalry, arrived with the division of Oudinot, and, after an engagement of two hours the whole division, standards, cannon, baggage officers, and soldiers, was taken. There were there twelve battalions of grenadiers, who had marched in great haste from the Tyrol to the assistance of the army of Bavaria.

In fine, the army under Marshal Bernadotte, together with the Bavarian army, commanded by Generals Duroc and Verden, took their position at Ingoldstadt. The imperial guard, commanded by General Bessieres, proceeded to Augsburg; as likewise the division of cuirassiers under the command of General Hauptpout.

Prince Murat, with the divisions of Klein and Beaumont, and the division of carabinieri and cuirassiers under General Nansouty, hastened with all speed to the village of Zumershausen, in order to intercept the road from Ulm to Augsburg.

Marshal Lannes, with the grenadier division of Oudinot and the division of Suchet, took post the same day in the village of Zumershausen.

All the cannon, colours, and almost all the officers of the enemy's army, who fought at Wertingen, were taken; a great number were killed.

Marshal Ney on his side, with the divisions of Malher, Dupont, and Loison, the division of dragons of General Barraguay d'Hilliers, and the division of Gazan, ascended the Danube, and attacked the enemy in their position at Grumberg.



The rains did not retard the forced marches of the grand army. The emperor set the example, and was on horseback night and day; he was continually in the midst of the troops, and in every point where his presence was necessary. On the 9th of October, he rode fourteen leagues in dreadful weather. He slept in a small village, without servants, and without any kind of baggage.

The combat at Wertingen was followed, in twenty-four hours, by an action at Gunsburgh. Marshal Ney had caused his corps to advance—the division of Loison towards Langenau, and the division of Malher to Gunsburgh. The enemy, who endeavoured to oppose their march, were every where defeated.

It was in vain that Prince Ferdinand hastened in person to defend Gunsburgh; General Malher attacked him with the 59th regiment. The battle was most obstinate—they fought man to man. Colonel La Cueur was killed at the head of his regiment, which, notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, carried the bridge by main force: the cannon which defended it were taken, and the fine position of Gunsburgh remained in our possession.

*Imperial Head-Quarters of Augsburg, 18 Vendemaire.*

The battles of Albeck, Elchingen, and the capture of Ulm and Memmingen, followed the actions at Wertingen and Gunsburgh. Marshal Soult arrived on the 13th before Memmingen, immediately surrounded the town, and, after some negotiation, the commandant capitulated. Nine battalions were taken prisoners: a major-general, many superior officers, ten pieces of cannon, and a great

deal of baggage and ammunition of every kind, was the result of this affair. At the same time, Marshal Soult marched for Ochsenhausen, for the purpose of reaching Biberach, and cutting off the only retreat which lay open to the archduke Ferdinand. On the 19th, the enemy made a sortie from Ulm, and attacked the division of Dupont. This battle was a most obstinate one. Surrounded by twenty-five thousand men, these six thousand brave fellows opposed them on all sides, and took fifteen hundred prisoners. On the 13th, the emperor went to the camp before Ulm, and ordered the army of the enemy to be invested. On the 14th, at day-break, Marshal Ney passed the bridge at the head of Loison's division. The enemy opposed his taking possession of Elchingen with sixteen thousand men: they were every where overthrown, lost three thousand men, who were taken prisoners, and were pursued to their intrenchments. On the 14th, General Marmont occupied all the communications of the enemy on the Iller. On the 15th, at day-break, the emperor himself appeared before Ulm. The corps of Prince Murat, and those of Marshals Lasnes and Ney, ranged themselves in order of battle, to force the intrenchments of the enemy. The day was dreadful: the troops were up to their knees in mud. The emperor had not taken off his boots for eight days. The Austrian prince Ferdinand had marched off in the night towards Biberach, leaving twelve battalions in the town, and upon the heights of Ulm, which were all taken. Marshal Soult took possession of Biberach on the 15th. Prince Murat set out in pursuit of the enemy, who were in a dreadful state of dissolution.

Out of an army of eighty thousand men, only twenty-five thousand remained. Immediately after his arrival at Munich, Marshal Bernadotte pursued the army of General Kienmeyer, and took some wagons and prisoners from him.

The Austrian army was one of the finest that Austria ever had: it consisted of fourteen regiments of infantry of the army of Bavaria, as it was called, thirteen regiments from the Tyrol, and five regiments which had been sent in wagons from Italy,—altogether thirty-two regiments of infantry, and fifteen regiments of cavalry. The emperor had placed the army of Prince Ferdinand in the same situation in which he had placed that of Melas. After having long hesitated, Melas adopted the noble resolution of piercing through the French army, which occasioned the battle of Marengo. Mack took another resolution: Ulm is the point of union of a great number of roads: he had formed the plan of making his divisions retreat by these roads, to re-assemble them in Bohemia and the Tyrol. The divisions of Hohenzollern and Werneck marched off by Heydenheim. A small division retreated by Memmingen, but the emperor on the 12th hastened from Augsburg to Ulm, immediately disconcerted the projects of the enemy, and ordered the bridge and position of Elchingen to be carried, which rendered every thing secure. Marshal Soult, after having taken Memmingen, went in pursuit of the other columns. Prince Ferdinand had therefore no other resource than to suffer himself to be shut up in Ulm, or to endeavour by cross-roads to join the division of Hohenzollern: this prince adopted the latter resolution, and proceeded to Aalen. In the mean time

Prince Murat was in pursuit. While he made a movement on his right to Heydenheim, Marshal Lannes marched towards Aalen and Nordlingen. The progress of the enemy was retarded by five hundred wagons, and they were weakened by the battle of Langenau. The action did not retard the march of Prince Murat. He advanced rapidly towards Neresheim, and on the 17th, at five in the evening, he arrived before that position. The division of dragoons of General Klein charged the enemy. Two standards, a general officer, and one thousand men, were again taken at the battle of Neresheim. Prince Ferdinand, and seven of his generals, had barely time to get on horseback. Their dinner was found on table. For two days they had no place of rest.

On the night of the 16th there was a terrible hurricane; the Danube completely overflowed, and carried away almost all the bridges, which certainly afforded the Austrian army an opportunity of forcing their way through the French posts; but this favourable circumstance was not improved. On the 15th, Marshal Bernadotte, having pushed his advanced posts as far as Wasserbourg and Haag, on the roads of Brannau, took four or five hundred prisoners, and seventeen pieces of cannon; having thus taken, since his entry at Munich, fifteen hundred prisoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, two hundred horses, and a quantity of baggage.

The emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st of October; the Danube the 6th, at five o'clock in the morning; the Lech the same day, at half past three; his troops entered Munich on the 12th; his advanced guard arrived on the Inn on the 15th. On the same day he was master of Memmingen.

and on the 17th of Ulm, when the terms of the capitulation were finally settled. The garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, and, after filing off, to lay down their arms. The field-officers were permitted to return home upon their parole; but the subalterns and soldiers were sent prisoners to France. He took from the enemy at Wertingen, Gunsburgh, Elchingen, the days of Memmingen and Ulm, and in the actions of Albeck, Langenau, and Neresheim, forty thousand men, more than forty stand of colours, a great number of cannon, baggage wagons, &c.; and to accomplish all this, only marches and manœuvres were employed.—In these partial actions, the loss of the French army amounted to no more than five hundred killed, and a thousand wounded. It was a common remark among the troops, “The emperor has found out a new method of making war—he only makes us use our legs instead of our bayonets.” Five sixths of the army never fired a shot, which mortified them much. But they had all marched a great deal. The eulogy of the army may be pronounced in a breath—it is worthy of its chief.

In a proclamation to the army, dated October 21, at Elchingen, the emperor said, “Of 100,000 men who composed the Austrian army, 60,000 are prisoners; they will go to take the place of our conscripts in the labours of our fields. Two hundred pieces of cannon, (their whole park,) 90 stand of colours, and all their generals, are in our hands there have not escaped of this army 15,000 men. Soldiers, I had announced to you a great battle but, thanks to the bad combinations of the enemy I have been able to obtain the same success, with

out running any risk ; and, what is unexampled in the history of nations, so important a result has not diminished our force by more than 1500 men."

On the 24th of October, Napoleon arrived at Munich, which was tastefully illuminated on the occasion.

Brannau was found to be one of the finest acquisitions for the army. It was surrounded by a circumvallation fortified with bastions, drawbridges, a half-moon, and ditches full of water. The place was also most abundantly supplied with provisions, ammunition, and artillery necessary to support a long siege.

At this time it snowed six inches deep, and the roads were horrible ; yet Marshal Davoust took a position between Ried and Haag. The emperor of Germany, in his anxiety, came to Wells, where he learned the disasters of his army at Ulm. Vienna was threatened with famine.

On the 3d of November, Marshal Davoust had pushed his advanced posts to Steyer. Since passing the Inn, from 14 to 16,000 prisoners had been taken, Austrians and Russians, without including the sick. Napoleon's head-quarters were established at Lambach.

Prince Murat, after the capture of Enns, pursued the enemy anew. The Russian army on the heights of Amstetten were attacked by General Oudinot's grenadiers ; the battle was very obstinate ; the Russians left 400 dead on the field of battle, and 1500 prisoners. The French advanced posts being at St. Polten on the 8th of November, the enemy was attacked near Marienzell, put to the route, and pursued five leagues, losing three standards, sixteen pieces of cannon, and 4000

prisoners. On the 9th, in the morning, Prince Murat arrived at St. Hyppolite. Here a deputation of the inhabitants of Vienna, with Prince Zinzendorf at their head, attended him, to declare the emperor's intention to deliver up the metropolis, in order to preserve it from the horrors of war; and that, in so doing, he depended on the justice and generosity of Bonaparte to carry his benevolent wishes into execution. The deputies were received by Prince Murat with attention and respect, and, having obtained the strongest assurances of protection, they returned to Vienna. General Sebastiani entered that city in consequence of arrangements then made, and his troops were quietly conducted to the quarters assigned for them.

The whole court and the nobility had quitted that capital, and the emperor of Austria was preparing to follow. The Russian army had effected its retreat to Krems, by repassing the Danube, apprehending that its communications with Moravia might be cut off.

The Russians declined all the temptations held out to them to engage on the heights of St. Polten, and, as before observed, passed the Danube at Krems, burning the bridge, which was very handsome. But when Marshal Mortier, with six battalions, advanced towards Stein on the 11th, he reckoned upon finding the Russian rear-guard there, but found their whole army, the advanced guard excepted, which had not passed. The battle of Diernstein then took place, which it was said would be for ever celebrated in military annals. From six in the morning till four in the afternoon, four thousand French made head against all that opposed them, and, having made themselves masters

of Leiben, they thought all was over; but the enemy, enraged at having lost ten stands of colours, six pieces of cannon, nine hundred prisoners, and two thousand killed, had marched two columns through difficult passes to turn the French. As soon as Mortier perceived this, he marched straight against the troops that had turned him, and cut his way through the enemy's lines, at the very moment that the 9th regiment of light infantry and the 33d of the line had charged and defeated another Russian corps, taking two stands of colours, and making 4000 prisoners. This was a day of blood; more than 4000 Russians were killed and wounded, and 1300 made prisoners, and the loss of the French was very considerable. Colonel Wattier, of the 4th dragoons, an officer of great worth was made prisoner. It then appeared that the emperor of Germany, the ministers and the court, were at Brunn, in Moravia, where the emperor Alexander was expected.

The last battle had totally disconcerted the plan of the Russians, who now evacuated Krems, and quitted the Danube, leaving 1500 prisoners in a state of great want. Marshal Mortier and other divisions set out in pursuit of them.

On the 13th of November, Prince Murat entered and passed through Vienna. The troops did not stop in that city: but Prince Murat established his head-quarters at the house of Duke Albert. The emperor Napoleon took up his residence in the palace of Schoenbrunn. The cannon, arms and ammunition found at Vienna, exceeded expectation. The French confessed that the inhabitants of that city, by their conduct, evinced as much friendship to them as of hatred to the Russians.



whose habits and barbarous manners were disgusting to polished nations.

On the 15th of November, Prince Murat, and the corps under General Lannes, came up with the Russians at Hollebrun: the French cavalry charged them, and they immediately abandoned the ground, leaving a hundred carriages with their equipage.

By the emperor's order, the corps of Murat, and those of Marshal Lannes and Soult, formed a junction. The Russians took up a position behind the village of Schoen Grabern, and beyond this was a defile defended by six thousand of their best troops. An action here began with some skirmishes with the cavalry, after which Marshal Lannes ordered Oudinot's division of grenadiers to advance to an attack upon the front and the left of the enemy's position. Marshal Soult caused their right to be turned by Lagrande's division, whilst Vandamme's corps supported that of the grenadiers.

General Oudinot, at the head of Mortier's grenadiers, rushed upon the Russians, with his wonted impetuosity; but the latter, having the advantage in their position, resisted the shock with firmness.

After an obstinate conflict, that lasted till eleven at night, the French found themselves masters of the field of battle, eighteen hundred prisoners, and twelve pieces of cannon.

The advance of Murat, on the 16th of November, brought on the battle of Tuntersdorf, in which a part of the Russian rear-guard was routed, leaving two thousand prisoners and two thousand wounded on the field of battle.

On the 17th, the emperor Napoleon advanced his head-quarters to Znaim, where the Russian rear-guard, retreating towards Brunn, had left their

sick. In constant pursuit of the enemy, Prince Murat entered Brunn on the 18th of November. The emperor Napoleon's head-quarters were then fixed at Pohorlitz, but arrived again at Brunn on the 20th. But on the 21st, upon receiving the full powers of M. M. Stadion and de Giulay, he made the previous offer of an armistice, to spare the effusion of human blood. The emperor soon perceived that they had other projects; and, as their hope of success could only be derived from the side of the Russians, he easily conceived that, the second and third armies being arrived, and near Olmutz, the proposed negotiations were only a *ruse de guerre*. Accordingly, on the 28th of November, at nine in the morning, a cloud of Cossacks, supported by Russian cavalry, made Prince Murat's advanced posts fall back, surrounded Wischau, and took fifty of the sixth regiment of dragoons. In the course of the day the emperor of Russia repaired to Wischau, and the whole of the Russian army took up a position behind that city.

Napoleon's plan from that moment was to wait for them, and to watch the most favourable moment for action. He therefore ordered his army to retreat in the night, as if he had actually been defeated; took a good position three leagues in the rear, and laboured with much ostentation at fortifying it, and raising batteries. He proposed an interview to the emperor of Russia, who sent him his aid-de-camp, Prince Dolgorucki. That officer might remark, that every thing breathed fear and apprehension in the appearance of the French army. The placing strong guards, and the fortifications thrown up with such haste, at

peared to the Russian officer like the precautions of an army half beaten.

With those young men, who had taken upon them to direct the affairs of Russia, it was no longer a question, whether the French army should be beaten, but whether it should be turned and taken. Several old Austrian generals, who had made campaigns against the emperor Napoleon are said to have warned the Russian council against too much confidence, when they had to march against old soldiers, and able officers. They said they had seen Napoleon, reduced to a handful of men, repossess himself of victory, under the most difficult circumstances, by rapid and unforeseen operations, and destroy numerous armies; that here no advantage had been obtained; and that, on the contrary, all the affairs with the Russian rear-guard had been in favour of the French; —but to this the presumptuous young men opposed the bravery of the 80,000 Russians, the enthusiasm inspired by the presence of their emperor, and the picked corps of the imperial guard of Russia.

In the order of the day before the battle of Austerlitz, the emperor Napoleon inserted the following proclamation:

“ *December 1*

“ Soldiers, the Russian army is before you, to avenge the Austrian army at Ulm. They are the same battalions you beat at Hollebrun, and which you have constantly pursued. The positions we occupy are formidable; and whilst they march to my right, they shall present me their flank.— Soldiers, I shall direct myself all your battalions shall keep at a distance from the firing, if, with

your accustomed bravery, you carry confusion and disorder into the enemy's ranks; but if victory be for a moment doubtful, you shall see your emperor expose himself to the first blows; for victory can not hesitate on this day, in which the honour of the French infantry, of so much importance to the whole nation, is concerned. Let not the ranks be thinned under pretence of carrying off the wounded; but let each be well persuaded that we must conquer these hirelings of England, who are animated with so deep a hatred to our nation. This victory will finish our campaign, and we shall resume our winter-quarters, where we shall be joined by the new armies forming in France; then the peace which I make will be worthy of my people, of you, and of me.

(Signed)

“NAPOLEON.”

It was early on the morning of the second of December, that the emperor, with great joy, saw from the heights the Russian army beginning a movement, within twice the distance of cannon-shot, to turn his right. He said several times, “Before to-morrow night, that army shall be in my power.” Yet the enemy's idea was different; they appeared before the French posts within pistol-shot. By a flank march they defiled upon a line four leagues long. In passing the length of the French army, which seemed afraid of quitting its position, the Russians appeared to have but one fear, and that was, that their enemy should escape. Every thing was done which could favour this deception. Prince Murat sent out a small corps on the plain but all at once it seemed astonished

at the immense force of the enemy, and returned in haste.

At night the emperor Napoleon went on foot and *incog.*, and visited all the posts, but was almost immediately recognised by the soldiers, who pladed lighted straw upon long poles, and 80,000 men joined in saluting the emperor with acclamations; some to celebrate the anniversary of his coronation, others saying, that the army would to-morrow offer its *bouquette* to the emperor. One of the oldest grenadiers went up to him, and said, "Sire, you need not expose yourself: I promise you, in the name of the grenadiers, that you shall have only to fight with your eyes, and that we will bring you to-morrow the colours and artillery of the Russian army, to celebrate the anniversary of your coronation."

Omitting the previous disposal of the different corps, for the sake of brevity, we must avail ourselves of the words of the celebrated bulletin of this day, dated Austerlitz, December 3.

"At one in the morning, the emperor got on horseback to visit the posts, reconnoitre the fires of the enemy, and get an account of what the guards had learned of the movements of the Russians. He heard that they had passed the night in drunkenness and noise.

"This battle, which the soldiers persist in calling the day of the three emperors, which others call the day of the anniversary, and which the emperor named the battle of Austerlitz, will be ever memorable in the annals of the great nation. The emperor, surrounded by all the marshals, waited only for the horizon to clear up, to issue his last orders. When the sun shot forth his first rays

the orders were issued, and each marshal joined his corps full gallop. The emperor said, in passing along the front of several regiments, 'Soldiers, we must finish this campaign by a thunderbolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies;' and instantly hats were placed at the point of bayonets, and cries of *Vive l'empereur* were the signal for battle. A moment afterwards, the cannonade began at the extremity of the right, which the enemy's advanced guard had already outflanked; but the unexpected meeting with Marshal Davoust stopped the enemy short, and the battle began. Marshal Soult put himself in motion at the same moment, proceeded to the heights of the village of Pratzen, with Generals Vandamme and St. Hilaire's divisions, and cut off the enemy's right, whose movements became uncertain. Surprised by a flank march, whilst it was flying, believing itself to be attacking, and seeing itself attacked, it considered itself as half defeated. Prince Murat was in motion with his cavalry. The left wing, under the command of General Lannes, marched forward also, *en echelons*, by regiments, in the same manner as if they had been exercising by divisions. A tremendous cannonade took place along the whole line: 203 pieces of cannon, and nearly 200,000 men, made a dreadful noise; it was really a giant combat. Not an hour had elapsed, and the enemy's whole left was cut off; their right had already reached Austerlitz, the head-quarters of the two emperors, who marched immediately to the emperor of Russia's guard, to restore the communication of the centre with the left. A battalion of the 4th of the line was charged by the imperial Russian guard on horseback, and routed; but the

emperor was at hand; he perceived this movement; ordered Marsnal Bessieres to go to the succour of his right, with his invincibles, and the two guards were soon engaged. Success could not be doubtful; in a moment the Russian guard was routed; their colonel, artillery, standards, and every thing were taken. The regiment of the grand duke Constantine was annihilated; he owed his safety only to the swiftness of his horse.

"From the heights of Austerlitz the two emperors beheld the defeat of all the Russian guard. At the same moment the centre of the army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, advanced. All the charges were victorious. At one, P. M., the victory was decided; it had not been doubtful for a moment; not a man of the reserve was wanted, and had assisted no where: a cannonade was kept up only on our right. The enemy's corps, which had been surrounded and driven from all the heights, were on a flat, and near a lake. The emperor hastened thither, with twenty pieces of cannon. This corps was driven from position to position, and we saw the horrid spectacle, such as was seen at Aboukir, of 20,000 men throwing themselves in the lake. Two columns of Russians 4000 each, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. All the enemy's park of artillery was taken.

"The result of this day is forty Russian standards, 20,000 prisoners, twelve or fifteen generals: at least 15,000 Russians killed on the field of battle." The French loss was comparatively inconsiderable. "Our army, though fine and numerous was less numerous than that of the enemy, which

was 105,000 strong—80,000 Russians, and 25,000 Austrians : the half of this army was destroyed.”

The day after this battle, Napoleon addressed to his army a proclamation, which closed with these words :

“ Soldiers, when all that is necessary to secure the happiness and prosperity of our country shall be accomplished, I will lead you back to France ; there you shall be the objects of my most tender solicitude : my people will behold you again with joy ; and it will be sufficient for you to say, ‘ I was at the battle of Austerlitz,’ to authorize the reply — ‘ Behold a brave man ! ’ ”

Many of the bulletins of the French army are known to have been written by Napoleon. Perhaps there is not any one among them all, in which more of this extraordinary man may be seen, than in the thirty-first, dated Austerlitz, December 5, which describes the interview between him and the emperor of Germany, with the interesting communications that passed between the former and the emperor Alexander, who was absolutely a prisoner till he had agreed to the capitulation proposed by Napoleon.

“ The emperor of Germany did not conceal on his own part, nor that of the emperor of Russia, all the contempt which the conduct of England had inspired. He also made known to Napoleon, that the emperor of Russia wished to make a separate peace ; that he would entirely abandon England. The emperor of Germany several times repeated in the conversation, that there was no doubt the quarrel with England was just on the part of France. He also demanded a truce for the remains of the Russian army. The emperor Napo-



leon gave him to understand, that, the Russian army being surrounded, not a man of them could escape. 'but,' added he, 'as I wish to oblige the emperor Alexander, I will suffer the Russians to pass. I will order my own columns to halt; but your majesty must promise me that the Russian army shall return to Russia, and evacuate Germany Austrian and Prussian Poland.' 'That,' answered the emperor of Germany, 'I can assure you, is the intention of the emperor Alexander.' Bonaparte said to the emperor Francis, 'I receive you in the only palace I have lived in these two months.' The emperor Napoleon went through the field of battle, and had the wounded removed. Some of them forgot their sufferings, and said, 'Is the victory quite certain?' Forty-eight hours after the battle, there were a number of wounded Russians that could not be dressed. The foot guards of the emperor could not engage; they wept through spite, and absolutely insisted upon doing something. 'Be satisfied,' said Napoleon; 'you are the reserve; it will be better if you have nothing to do to-day.' The commander of the artillery of the imperial Russian guard lost his cannon. He met the emperor. 'Sire,' said he, 'order me to be shot; I have lost my cannon.' 'Young man,' replied the emperor, 'I esteem your tears; but one may be beaten by my army, and still retain some pretension to glory.' The French artillery did prodigious injury to the enemy. The emperor said, 'This gives me pleasure: it was in this corps I began my military career.' "

The emperor Alexander allowed it was the first time he had seen fire; that Napoleon was a great

warrior; and that he never thought of comparing himself with him.

The terms of the capitulation prescribed by Napoleon having been acceded to by Alexander the Russian army began its march on the 8th of December, in three columns, and Alexander went at the head of the first.

The intelligence of the successes of the army of Germany was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the majority of the French people. From this moment the fanaticism of military glory quite effaced the few remaining impressions made upon them by the love of liberty. Napoleon had well calculated the results; he polished and brightened the fetters which he intended for his fellow citizens.

The emperor Napoleon, whose orders were executed at once upon the coasts of the German Ocean, and those of the Adriatic, in the kingdom of Naples, had collected upon the frontiers of his new kingdom of Italy all the troops dispersed in the interior, and intrusted the command of them to Marshal Massena. All these, amounting to about 40 or 50,000 men, formed five divisions of infantry, and occupied at first a line upon the Adige, nearly parallel with that of the Austrians on the other side of that river. Our limits will not allow us to detail the various operations of Massena and his generals, by which the Austrians commanded by the archduke Charles, were driven from all their positions, until the French armies of Germany and Italy had formed a junction at Clagenfurth in Carinthia.

The Italian campaign of 1805 gave new lustre to the reputation of Marshal Massena, whose

manœuvres upon the Adige and the Isonzo proved that the conqueror of Zurich deserved to rank among the most able of the French generals.

Thus, in the course of two months, Napoleon had defeated two emperors on the field of battle, and compelled the emperor Francis to sign the humiliation of the house of Austria, by the treaty of Presburg that followed, in making a separate peace.

On the 27th of December, 1805, an official bulletin, issued from the palace of Schoenbrunn, near Vienna, announced to Europe the promotion of the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg to the rank of monarchs, without ceasing to belong to the confederation of the Rhine ; the re-union of Venice to the kingdom of Italy ; and the resolution of the French emperor to expel the king of Naples and his family from his throne. Napoleon had also demanded the hand of the Princess Amelia Augusta of Bavaria for Prince Eugene, whom he proposed to adopt for his son.

## CHAPTER XV.

*Enthronement of the Kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria—Adoption of the Viceroy of Italy—War with Naples—Offensive Conduct of the British Ministry respecting Prussia—Occupation of Dalmatia and Istria—Transfer of the Tyrol Country—Mr. Fox appointed to the British Ministry—Marriage of the Prince of Baden with Stephanie Beauharnois—Anecdotes of this interesting Lady—Constitution and Conduct of Napoleon's Council of State—Anecdotes—State Prisons in France—Public Works executed by Order of Bonaparte—Joseph Bonaparte made King of Naples, and Louis King of Holland—Other Promotions.*

ON the 1st of January, this year, the new kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria were enthroned with much solemnity at Munich and at Stuttgart. On the same day the French tribunate presented to the senate the Russian and Austrian colours taken at Austerlitz, and sent to Paris by Napoleon, together with the ratifications of the treaty of Presburg, that had been exchanged at Vienna, which city was not entirely evacuated by the French troops till nine days after Napoleon had quitted this capital, on the 29th of December, for Munich, where he arrived on the 31st. Here he received the viceroy of Italy, Eugene Beauharnois, whom he adopted as his son on the 12th, and who was married to the princess royal of Bavaria on the day following.

The king of Naples was now doomed to feel the weight of Napoleon's vengeance. Queen Caroline, who had the entire government of her spouse, and was always influenced by her hatred against France, had promised to make a powerful

diversion in favour of England, with the assistance of the Russian and British troops, whom she expected at Naples. Hitherto Napoleon's unexpected successes had prevented her from carrying this project into execution.

On the 8th of January, the English forces had arrived at Naples as auxiliaries, but in a few days they re-embarked for Sicily. The Russians, who had come on the same errand, set sail for Corfu on the 13th of January, 1806.

Napoleon, who had destined the crown of Naples for his brother Joseph, had appointed him general-in-chief of the army sent to invade Naples.

Marshal Massena, in the mean time, was charged with directing the movements of the army, in which Gouvion St. Cyr and Regnier acted as lieutenant-generals. Whilst Massena was preparing for this grand enterprise, the British ministry exhibited an example of indiscretion, sufficient in itself to deter any power whatever from entering into alliance with them. They laid before the house of commons complete copies of the treaties concluded with Austria, Russia, and Sweden, and thus provoked a public discussion of their contents; a step involving a disclosure which Prussia was very unwilling to sanction, especially since the termination of the campaign. In fact, the same king of Prussia, whom the British ministry had compromised much less than he had done himself by his own conduct, three days after opening the parliament, on the 24th of January, announced to his army, by means of an article inserted in the gazette of Berlin, "the continuance of peace," which, to the eyes of impartial men, sufficiently exposed the absurd enterprises

in which he had been secretly engaged previous to the end of the year 1805.

On the same day that this article appeared in the official gazette at Berlin, the grand duke Constantine, who arrived there soon after the battle of Austerlitz, left that city, but not without taking leave of Baron Hardenberg, then considered as the head of the English party in the Prussian cabinet. Soon after this the Prussian troops invaded the electorate of Hanover, an act of hostility both against England and Sweden, in favour of which this court had armed but one month before, and which, six months after, it was again to repeat, though at the hazard of its existence.

On the other hand, the allies of France began to enjoy the advantages procured them by the treaty of Presburg. Napoleon passed the Rhine, and arrived at Paris on the 26th of January, 1806. He had already distributed his troops in such a manner as to act as an army of observation upon Prussia : hence the seventh corps of the grand army, under Marshal Augereau, began to establish itself about Frankfort on the Maine, at which place Augereau fixed his head-quarters. Negotiations, however, still continued between the Prussian cabinet and that of the Tuilleries ; and on the 8th of March, the Prussian envoy, M. Haugwitz, concluded a treaty, in virtue of which Frederick William accepted of Hanover in exchange for several Prussian provinces, as Anspach, which was given to Bavaria, the principality of Neufchatel and de Vaurangin, the country of Cleves, and Wesel, which Napoleon reserved in favour of Marshal Berthier or Prince Murat.

Other occupations of territory had been authorized by the treaty of Presburg. The generals Mollitor and Mathieu Dumas, at the head of a French corps, had begun to take possession of Dalmatia on the first of February; and on the same day the emperor of Austria sent troops to occupy the bishopric of Wurtzburg which had fallen to his brother as an indemnity for the electorate of Salzburg. On the 11th of February, a French commissary delivered up the Tyrol to the delegates sent thither by the king of Bavaria; on the 16th, a proclamation announced the taking possession of Istria by the emperor of the French, king of Italy; on the 14th of March, the French troops occupied the city and territory of Nuremberg, in behalf of the king of Bavaria, to whom it was consigned. The latter, by a patent, dated the 15th of March, announced the cession of the dutchy of Berg to France; and Prince Murat announced, in his turn, the cession of Cleves and Berg, made to him by Napoleon. In fine, the kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, and the grand duke elector of Baden, continued in possession of their respective estates in Swabia, Franconia, and the Brisgau, under the auspices of France, which was several times constrained to send commissaries to adjust the differences that arose amongst these princes, about fixing their respective boundaries.

Whilst these arrangements were making upon the continent, the king of Great Britain called the illustrious Mr. Fox to the helm of public affairs, as the only person capable of supporting the tottering edifice of the ministry, shaken by the death of Pitt.

On the evening of the opening of the legislative corps, the hereditary prince of Baden arrived at

Paris, and two days afterwards the senate was informed, by a message, of the marriage of this prince with a niece of the empress Josephine, Mademoiselle Stephanie Beauharnois, whom Napoleon had adopted some time before.

This union was for several years far from being happy. In course of time, however, the causes of difference gradually vanished; the prince and princess became attached to each other, and from that moment they had only to regret the happiness of which they had deprived themselves during the early years of their marriage.

At the conferences at Erfurt, the princess of Baden received the most marked attentions from her brother-in-law, the emperor Alexander. During the disasters of the French in 1813, persons who were at the head of political affairs succeeded in depriving the princess of the regard of her august relative, by circulating false reports to the prejudice of her character. Thus, when Alexander arrived at Manheim, in his triumphal march to Paris, he by no means treated Princess Stephanie with due respect. On this occasion, the conduct pursued by the prince of Baden reflected true glory on his character. The most august personages surrounded him, and urged him to repudiate the wife whom he had received from the hands of Napoleon. But the prince, with true nobleness of sentiment, rejected the idea, observing that he would never commit such an act of baseness, which would be as repugnant to his affections as to his honour. This generous prince afterwards fell a victim to a tedious and painful illness. The princess personally attended on her husband throughout the whole of his sufferings, performing with



her own hands all the minute services that his situation required ; her devoted attachment gained her the admiration of all her relatives and subjects

Princess Stephanie at all times professed the highest veneration for him, who, when in the enjoyment of boundless power, had benevolently adopted her as his child.

The *council of state* being frequently mentioned, some account of its constitution and conduct may illustrate the character of its founder :

The council of state, as a whole, were Napoleon's real council, and his mind in deliberation, as the ministers were his mind in execution. At the council of state were prepared the laws which the emperor presented to the legislative body, a circumstance which rendered it altogether one of the elements of the legislative power. In the council, the emperor's decrees and rules of public administration were drawn up ; and the plans of his ministers were examined, discussed and corrected.

This council received appeals, and pronounced finally on all administrative judgments ; and incidentally on those of all other tribunals, even those of the court of cassation. There complaints against the ministers were examined, and appeals from the emperor to the emperor better informed. Thus the council of state, at which the emperor uniformly presided, being frequently in direct opposition to the ministers, or occupied in reforming their acts and errors, naturally become the point of refuge for persons or interests aggrieved by any authority whatever.

So little was the nature of this council understood by the people in general, that it was believed no one dare utter a word in that assembly, in oppo-

sition to the emperor's opinion. Thus Las Cases very much surprised many persons, when he related the fact, that one day, during a very animated debate, the emperor, having been interrupted three times in giving his opinion, turned towards the individual who had rather rudely cut him short, and said in a sharp tone—"I have not yet done. I beg you will allow me to continue. I believe every one here has a right to deliver his opinion." The smartness of this reply, notwithstanding the solemnity of the occasion, excited a general laugh, in which the emperor himself joined.

Every member was at liberty to speak; if several rose at the same time, the order of precedence was regulated by the emperor. When he thought the question, in which he usually took no inconsiderable share himself, sufficiently discussed, he made a summary of the arguments, which was always luminous, and frequently marked with novelty and point, which, thus being brought to a conclusion, was put to the vote.

The greatest freedom prevailed in these debates. The animation of the speakers, increasing by degrees, became sometimes excessive, and the discussion was often protracted beyond measure, particularly when the emperor, occupied probably with some other subject, seemed, either from abstraction or something else, to be altogether ignorant of what was going on. He then commonly cast an irresolute eye over the hall, cut pencils with his penknife, pricked the tapestry of his table, or the arm of his chair, with the point of it, or employed his pencil or pen in scrawling whimsical marks or sketches, which, after he was gone, excited the ardent attention of the young members, who made :

kind of scramble for them ; and it was curious to observe, when he happened to have traced the name of some country or capital, the hyperbolical inferences that were sought to be extracted from it. Sometimes, too, when the emperor entered the council, as soon as his dinner was ended, and having undergone great fatigue during the morning, he would fold his arms upon the table, lay down his head, and fall asleep. The arch-chancellor proceeded with the deliberations, which were continued without interruption ; and the emperor, on awakening, immediately caught up the thread of the discussion, though the previous subject might have been ended, and another introduced. The emperor often asked for a glass of water and sugar ; and a table in the adjoining room was always laid out with refreshments for his use, without any precautions being adopted as to the individuals who were permitted to approach it.

One day the counsellor of state, General Gassendi, taking part in the debate of the moment, dwelt a long time upon the doctrines of economists. The emperor, who was much attached to his old artillery comrade, stopped him, saying, "My dear general, where did you gain all this knowledge? Where did you imbibe these principles?" Gassendi replied, that he had borrowed his opinions from Napoleon himself. "How!" exclaimed the emperor with warmth—"What do you say? Is it possible? From me, who have always thought, that, if there existed a monarchy of granite, the chimeras of political economists would reduce it to powder!" And, after some other remarks, partly ironical and partly serious, he concluded—"Go, general! you must have fallen asleep in your office, and have

dreamed all this.”—Gassendi, who was rather irascible, replied—“Oh, as for falling asleep in our offices, sire, I defy any one to do that with you you plague us too much for that.” All the council burst into a fit of laughter, and the emperor laughed louder than any one.

A scene of a very different kind occurred another time. A religious party was fomenting civil discord in the state, by secretly circulating bulls and letters from the pope. They were shown to M. Portal, a counsellor of state, appointed to superintend religious worship, and who, if he did not himself circulate them, at least neither prevented nor denounced their circulation. This was discovered, and the emperor suddenly challenged him with the fact in open council. “What could have been your motive, sir?” said he. “Were you influenced by your religious principles? If so, why are you here? I use no control over the conscience of any man. Did I force you to become my counsellor of state? On the contrary, you solicited the post as a high favour. You are the youngest member of the council, and perhaps the only one who has not some personal claim to that honour: you had nothing to recommend you but the inheritance of your father’s services. You took a personal oath to me: how could your religious feelings permit you openly to violate that oath, as you have just now done? Speak, however; you are here in confidence; your colleagues shall be your judges. Your crime is a great one, sir. A conspiracy for the commission of a violent act is stopped as soon as we seize the arm that holds the poniard; but a conspiracy to influence the public mind has no end: it is like a train of gunpowder. Perhaps at

this very moment whole towns are thrown into commotion through your fault." The counsellor quite confused, said nothing in reply: the first appeal was sufficient to establish the fact. The members of the council, to the majority of whom this event was quite unexpected, were struck with astonishment, and observed profound silence. "Why," continued the emperor, "did you not, according to the obligation imposed by your oath, discover to me the criminal and his plots? Am I not at all times accessible to every one of you?"—"Sire," said the counsellor at length, venturing to reply, "he was my cousin."—"Your crime is then the greater, sir," replied the emperor sharply; "your kinsman could only have been placed in office at your solicitation: from that moment the responsibility devolved on you. When I look upon a man as entirely devoted to me, as your situation ought to render you, all who are connected with him, and all for whom he becomes responsible, from that time require no watching. These are my maxims." The accused member still remained silent, and the emperor continued—"The duties which a counsellor of state owes to me are immense. You, sir, have violated those duties, and you hold the office no longer. Begone: let me never see you here again!"

The disgraced counsellor, as he was withdrawing, passed very near the emperor: the latter looked at him and said—"I am sincerely grieved at this, sir; for the services of your father are still fresh in my memory." When he was gone, the emperor added—"I hope such a scene as this may never be renewed; it has done me too much harm. I am not distrustful, but may become so! I have allowed

myself to be surrounded by every party : I have placed near my person even emigrants, and soldiers of the army of Condé ; and though it was wished to induce them to assassinate me, yet, to do them justice, they have continued faithful. Since I have held the reins of government, this is the first individual employed about me, by whom I have been betrayed :” and then, turning towards M. Locré, who took notes of the debates of the council of state, he said, “ write down *betrayed*—do you hear ?”

The existence of state-prisons under Napoleon has been strongly objected to, especially by the English ; but these he contended were a benefit. He justly observed, that, considering the crisis from which France had emerged, the factions that divided her, and the plots that had been laid, imprisonment became indispensable. To become a prisoner of state was the means of preserving numbers from the scaffold. No person, according to Napoleon’s law, could be thus detained without the decision of his privy council, which consisted of sixteen persons. None could be imprisoned more than a year, without a fresh decision of that council, and four votes out of sixteen would procure any person’s release. The fact is, that, at the time of Napoleon’s downfall, the state prisons scarcely contained 250 individuals ; and when he became consul, he found 9000 persons confined in them.

On the 2d of March, the emperor in person, with great pomp, opened the sittings of the legislative body. On the 5th, the minister of the interior attended the assembly, to acquaint them with the situation of the empire. He dwelt upon the dikes

that had been formed near the Rhone, to restrain the inundations of that river; decrees issued in favour of commerce; schools for the instruction of youth; new routes literally traversing Savoy, in spite of innumerable obstacles; the public establishments in Piedmont, then an integral part of the French empire, especially at Casal, Turin, and Alexandria; the latter place intended to become one of the principal bulwarks of the empire.

The emperor's victories, his moderation, his new alliances, and their mutual advantages, were rapidly touched upon by the minister, who, in returning to the affairs of the interior, enumerated the efforts made to increase the ameliorations introduced into the administration of justice, and the measures adopted to carry the police to the highest degree of perfection. He then called the attention of his auditors to the fine roads undertaken over the Simplon, Mount Cenis, and from Mount Genevre across the Maurienne, and the rocks between Genoa and Toulon; he also enumerated the many roads completed, or commenced, in different parts of the empire; the immense labours undertaken for improving the ancient routes; he spoke of the bridges built or rebuilt over the Rhine, the Meuse, the Loire, the Cher, the Loing, the Rhone, the Saone, the Durance, the Isere; the towing-paths along the sides of many rivers; the Po made navigable; the six great canals, and others less important, commenced, traced, or projected, and all intended to unite the two seas by means of internal navigation, or to connect the rivers of France so as to open new channels for commerce; the establishment of swing, or chain bridges throughout the empire; three lines of telegraphs, and a better or

ganization of bridges and causeways. The minister pointed out the two new cities built in the room of those destroyed during the civil wars in the departments of Morbihan and La Vendée, besides basins which had been dug in thirty-five ports, sluices, canals, quays, jettys, and moles established or repaired, ports enlarged, &c.

The road over the Simplon, extending from Geneva to Milan, was constructed by order of Bonaparte, under the direction of M. Ceard, on whom it confers immortal honour.

In the course of this grand route, more than forty bridges, of various forms, are thrown from one wild chasm to another, numerous galleries, or subterranean passages, are not only cut through the solid rock, but through the *glaciers* also—those “thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;”—and if to these we add the aqueducts that carry off the water; the grand canal; the walls that support and flank the whole of the route; together with the innumerable works of art which must necessarily enter into, and form a part of this more than Herculean work; we are at a loss which most to admire, the genius which contrived, or the skill which executed, so stupendous a work. More than 30,000 men were constantly employed in this undertaking, which was finished in 1805, after three years’ incessant labour. The road is now wide enough to admit three carriages abreast, but until the year 1801, it was impassable.

On the 30th of March, Prince Joseph had been proclaimed king of Naples and Sicily; the principality of Guastalla was transferred to the Princess Pauline, sister to Napoleon, under the title of duchess of Guastalla; and that of Neuchâtel to



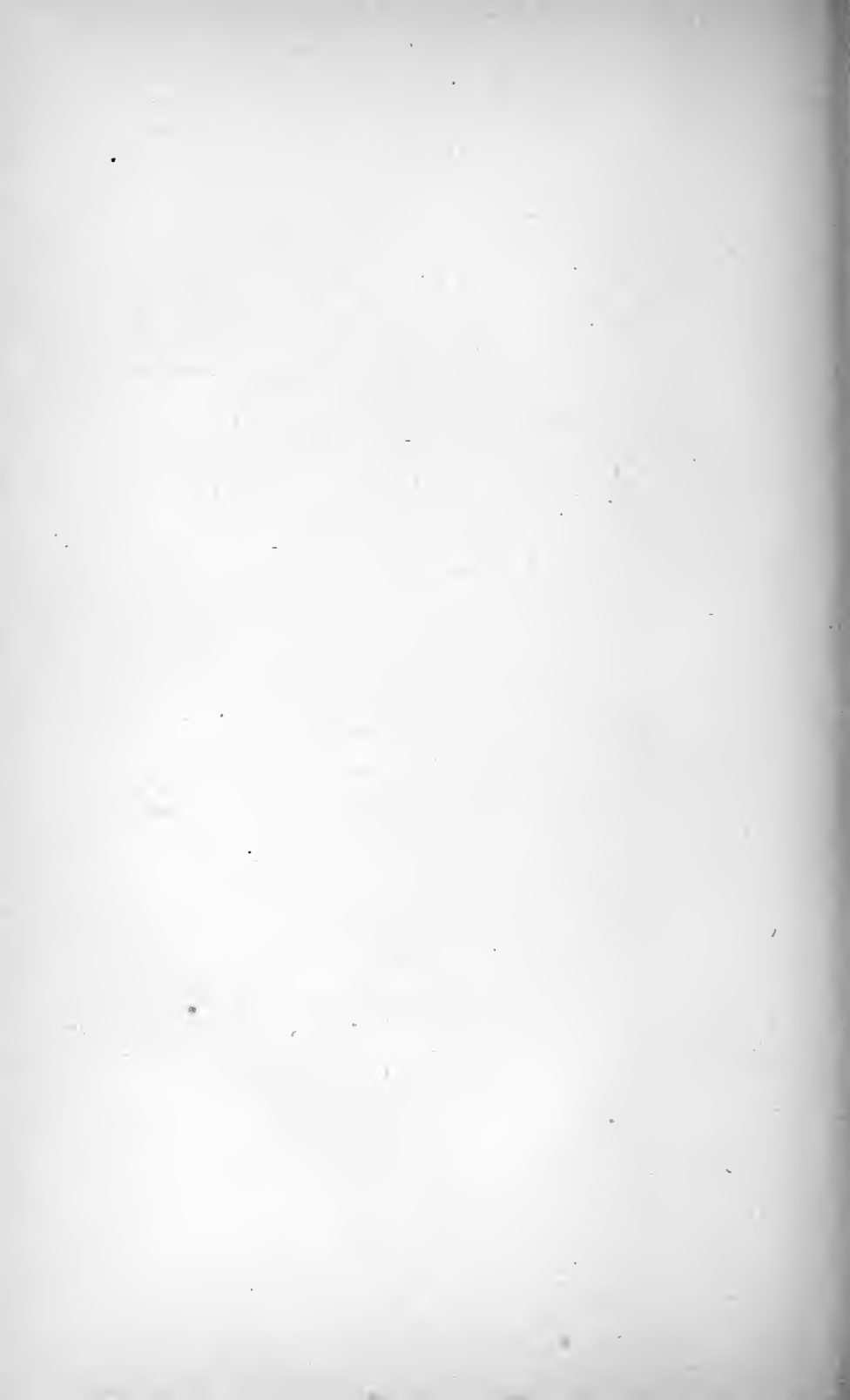
Marshal Berthier, by the title of prince of Neufchatel.

On the 5th of June, the grand seignior, having previously acknowledged the emperor Napoleon, Mouhib Effendi, ambassador extraordinary from the Porte, had his first audience of Napoleon, at Paris.

On the same day, his majesty proclaimed his brother Louis king of Holland ; and an imperial decree was passed, transferring to M. Talleyrand the principality of Benevento, under the title of prince ; and, by another decree, Bernadotte, marshal of the empire, was nominated prince of Ponte Corvo.

One of the last acts of the senate, this year, was to grant the levy of 80,000 men out of the conscription for 1807. The prospect at that period was encouraging and flattering to French valour, which, by the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz, had excited the admiration of Europe, and left France without a rival on the continent.

END OF VOL. I.



# MEMOIRS

OF

## NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Entrance of the French Army into Naples—Siege of Gaeta—Causes of the Disaffection of the Neapolitans towards the French—Landing of the British Troops under General Stuart, in Calabria—Affair near St. Euphemia, called the Battle of Maida, on the 4th of July—Repulse of the French—March of the English towards Maida on the 8th—Swiss Soldiers in the French Pay mistaken for English—Departure of General Stuart and Sir Sidney Smith—Causes of the War between France and Prussia—The Kings of Sweden and Prussia—Hostile Disposition of Russia towards Napoleon—Louis Bonaparte King of Holland—Confederation of the Rhine—Napoleon leaves Paris to head his Army—The Prussian Ultimatum—The Prussians out-manceuvred—Affair near Saalfeld—Battle of Jena—Blameable Conduct of Bernadotte—Napoleon at Weimar—Anecdotes—Slaughter of the Prussians near Halle—The French enter Berlin—The Duke and Duchess of Weimar—Results of the Battle of Jena—Napoleon at Berlin—Occupation of Hamburgh, Bremen, and the Hanse Towns—The Berlin Decree—Recapitulation of the Successes of the Campaign—Napoleon's Arrival at Posen and Warsaw—Battle of Pultusk*

BETWEEN the 12th and 15th of February, this year, the French army made its entrance into the kingdom of Naples: the Russians, who came to the assistance of the queen, were under General Lascy;—when, to aggravate the violation of the treaty concluded with Napoleon only two months before,

the court of the Two Sicilies confided the city of Naples to a garrison of eighteen hundred English. Upon this the French ambassador took down the arms of France from the gates of his palace, and, demanding his passports, retired to Rome. But the Russians did not await the attack of the French, as an order arrived from the emperor Alexander for them to re-embark without delay, and to remain in the Ionian Islands till further orders.

Gaeta, added to its natural strength, was commanded by the prince of Hesse Philipstadt, an old soldier, a German by birth, and strongly attached to the Bourbons. The siege was consequently protracted a considerable time. The surrender of Gaeta, on the 17th of July, set at liberty sixteen thousand of the besieging army.

The zeal, real or pretended, with which the Neapolitans received the new king imposed upon them by Napoleon, soon began to cool in a very sensible degree. The principal places at court were given to the French; the imposts had not been lowered; arbitrary contributions were imposed; these, with the luxury of the new court, the affluence of Naples, and a crowd of French and Italians, who came there to mend their fortunes, were the causes of discontent. The Calabrians bore the French yoke with the greatest degree of impatience, and were evidently preparing for an insurrection. Accordingly, in a council held at Palermo, at which the English commandants by sea and land were present, a descent in Calabria was resolved upon.

On the 1st of July, 1806, a fleet from Palermo made sail towards Stromboli, and afterwards disembarked troops opposite St. Euphemia. These consisted of six thousand British, and three thousand

Neapolitans, who were to be joined by four thousand insurgents. This army was commanded by the English general Stuart. General Reynier left in Calabria by King Joseph to govern that province, hastened, on the first arrival of this intelligence, to collect all the disposable troops that could be spared. The division under his orders was composed of the first and twenty-third regiments of light infantry, the forty-second of the line, two battalions of the first Swiss regiment, the ninth of the horse chasseurs, and a battery of horse artillery. On the 3d of July, the French advanced guard was in presence of the Anglo-Neapolitan army in bivouac at the foot of the hill upon which St. Euphemia is built; its left was supported by this little town, and its right by the sea. The French division passed the night of the 3d of July in the woods of Fundaco del Fico.

General Stuart formed the order of battle in a parallel line with the shore; his right was supported by the mouth of the river l'Amato. General Reynier then gave orders to General Compere, who commanded the advanced guard, to cross the Amato under the protection of some companies of voltigeurs, who cleared the little wood and the bushes upon the right bank; but the numerous tirailleurs, that the enemy sent towards this point, repulsed the French voltigeurs before General Compere could form his brigade. The whole of the English line moving forward at this instant, they engaged in a cannonade and a warm discharge of musketry, which did considerable execution in the French brigade, still suffering by the disorder occasioned by a precipitate formation. In a few minutes they had from six to seven hundred men killed and

wounded. General Compere, rallying his troops, had an arm broken by a cannon ball. Unfortunately, the greatest part of the division was still at too great a distance to remedy this first check, and the retrograde movement of the advanced guard threw the rest of the troops passing the Amato into confusion. The twenty-third regiment of light infantry alone had the firmness to arrest the progress of the enemy, and cover the retreat of the division to Catanzaro, through the valley of the Amato. This affair, in the English annals, was called the battle of Maida.

The English, being arrested in their progress by the intrepidity of the twenty-third under Colonel Abbé, did not persist in following the French, because they thought their victory would be improved by the exasperation of the Calabrian insurgents. But the French had still a sufficient force to cope with the latter, though twelve thousand of them had blocked up General Reynier in Catanzaro for some time.

General Stuart, after embarking his wounded and prisoners, began his march to Maida on the 8th of July.

The forts of Scylla and Reggio were soon after surrendered to the English. Strongoli, having refused to furnish General Reynier with provisions, was carried by assault, and pillaged and burnt.

Amongst the troops under General Reynier were two Swiss battalions; from their red uniforms, the insurgents understood them to be English. After Reynier had arrived at Cassano, where he had formed an intrenched camp, these Swiss were one night sent out, and ordered to make a considerable detour for the purpose of deceiving the insur

gents. Arriving before a village about day-break, a body of the former, seeing them proceed without making any show of hostility, and deceived by their red uniforms, made no doubt that they were English, that had been disembarked during the night, and, approaching them with shouts of joy, were received by a dreadful fire of musketry, and immediately charged with the bayonet, by which they lost nearly 1000 men; and the Swiss returned to the French camp with two white flags, and loaded with the spoils of the enemy.

Notwithstanding these successes, frequently attended with dreadful reprisals, the defeat of the insurgents in a great measure only seemed to call up more combatants.

During this time, the English thinking the French sufficiently engaged with the insurgents, General Stuart embarked for Sicily on the 5th of September. On the 16th of the same month, Sir Sidney Smith, mortified by his bad success against the Isle of Procida, set sail with the flotilla under his orders for Messina.

Such was the situation of the kingdom of Naples towards the end of 1806.

We have previously noticed the symptoms of hostility ready to break out between France and Prussia. Nothing but the irresolution of Frederick William retarded this event. The attractions that the possession of Hanover offered to this prince, seemed to have been the only cause of slackness in his preparations. The misunderstanding excited between the cabinets of London and Berlin, was evident in the public acts of the month of March, 1806, when the king of England declared by his minister, that he could not acquiesce in the cession

of his electoral estates: however, the Prussians still continued to occupy the fortress of Hameln on the 26th, and a few days after the king of Prussia published an edict, according to which, the shutting of his ports against the English was authorized in the same manner as had been practised whilst Hanover was occupied by the French.

The king of Sweden, immoveable in his affection for the English, and irritated by the proceedings of Frederick William, gave vent to his feelings in menaces and complaints; but did not wish to try the chances of war with a power so formidable as Prussia; he therefore concentrated in Pomerania that army which he intended should take part in the operations of the coalition lately dissolved by the treaty of Presburg, and only left some detachments in Lauenberg, which country his treaties with England obliged him to defend. In the beginning of April, the ports of Embden and East Friesland were added to those that had been previously shut against the English. The civil occupation of Hanover was completed at the same time; the authorities being called upon to take an oath of fealty to the sovereign, whilst the Prussians assumed a hostile aspect towards the Swedes, as if they meant to compel them to evacuate Lauenberg. This ended in an open rupture, and the evacuation of Pomerania by the Swedes, after an action fought on the 27th of April, and embargoes mutually laid on the shipping of both these powers. Still the forbearance of England towards Prussia, and of Prussia towards England, led politicians to believe that both powers were acting in concert to deceive Napoleon, and to give the king of Prussia time to put his army upon the most respectable footing



1806.]

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

Though it might have been expected that the generous treatment, which the emperor Alexander had received after the battle of Austerlitz, would have inspired him with pacific sentiments, the Russian army had scarcely got out of its critical situation in Moravia, scarcely had the Russian generals and the emperor's guards been sent home without being exchanged, when orders were given to the Russian troops to occupy the mouths of the Cattaro, upon the coasts of the ancient Venetian Albania, ceded by Austria to France, from whence the Russians were afterwards driven, as also out of Dalmatia. But to strengthen Napoleon against all these new combinations, Louis Bonaparte, as king of Holland, was called upon to act in concert with the new "Confederation of the Rhine," which detached almost all the German princes from the emperor of Germany, and placed them as tributaries and vassals under the power of Napoleon. This treaty of the Rhenish confederation was signed at Paris on July 12, 1806. About this time a treaty of peace, negotiated between the Russian counselor of state, M. D'Oubril, and General Clarke on the part of France, was disowned by the emperor Alexander, on the ground of that minister's going beyond his instructions. Other negotiations between Lord Lauderdale and the French government shared a similar fate. Prussia, too, appeared most seriously inclined to make use of the weapons against France which she seemed to have been preparing against Sweden. Sweden was devoted to Russia, and Prussia was sold to England.

Notwithstanding the protestations that the Prussian government renewed almost daily through its minister at Paris, towards the middle of August

her preparations assumed such a decided character that their real object could be no longer concealed. About the same time, Napoleon took possession of the fortress of Wesel, near the Rhine, which was one of the grievances alleged.

On the 21st of September, the emperor Napoleon wrote to the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, to furnish their contingent troops for his army, which was complied with, according to treaty. On the 25th, Napoleon quitted his imperial residence, to place himself at the head of his army, and arrived at Mayence on the 28th, and on the 1st of October he passed the Rhine. Whilst here, it seems he received the Prussian *ultimatum*, delivered by General Knobelsdorf, and transmitted to Napoleon from Paris. In this he was called upon to renounce the kingdoms of Holland and Italy, and threatened with the displeasure of Prussia, if his troops were not withdrawn from Germany, and made to cross the Rhine.

Napoleon could not finish reading the document that conveyed these demands, but threw it down with contempt. Alluding to the king of Prussia, he exclaimed, "Does he think himself in Champagne? Does he want to give us a new edition of his manifesto? What! does he pretend to mark out a route for our march back? Really, I pity Prussia. I feel for William. He is not aware what rhapsodies he is made to write. This is too ridiculous. Berthier, they wish to give us a rendezvous of honour for the 8th; a beautiful queen will be witness to the combat. Come, let us march on, and show our courtesy. We will not halt till we enter Saxony."

The emperor quitted Bamberg on the 8th of October, at three in the morning, and arrived on the same morning at Kronach. The Prussians occupied Schleitz, where General Tauenzien had six thousand Prussians and three thousand Saxons: on the 9th they were there charged and routed, and a thousand prisoners taken. After this success, the French were soon in possession of the whole course of the Saale. The duke of Brunswick had calculated upon coming up with the French army upon the Maine, occupying their wings by detached corps, and upon penetrating their centre before they could concentrate their forces. But whilst the duke of Brunswick made certain that the French would debouch by Kœnigshafen, it appeared their movements on his centre were merely a *ruse de guerre*, made to mislead him, and to prevent him from debouching by the forests of Thuringen, whilst they proceeded towards Cobourg and Memmingen, through woody and mountainous countries, where the Prussian cavalry would be sure to be crippled in their operations. As it was of the utmost importance to anticipate the French the duke of Brunswick hurried to Kœnigshafen.

Napoleon marched on Schleitz with the first corps sixty leagues from the presumed point of attack. The third corps remained quietly at Naumburg in the rear of the duke: hostilities had been commenced only two days, when that prince, already uncovered on his left, found his communications with the Elbe in danger.

On the 10th of October, near Saalfeld, the division under the orders of General Suchett fell in with the Prussian advanced guard under Prince Hohenlohe, commanded by Prince Frederick Chris

Prussian Louis of Prussia, charged with defending this post and the bridge over the Saale. A cannonade commenced, and was continued nearly two hours. A brigade of hussars, part of the French advanced guard, charged and overthrew the enemy's cavalry; then, advancing at a charging pace, they threw the Prussian infantry into disorder; these were partly driven into the marshes, and partly dispersed in the woods.

The duke of Brunswick's advanced guard, on arriving on the Maine, found no enemy! He retraced his steps in haste, and the duke of Saxe-Weimar and Prince Hohenlohe were called upon to move, whilst the army of reserve made a forced march. Some of these mistook their route, and others did not use sufficient despatch, whilst the duke, disconcerted by a system of movements so new to him, knew not what course to adopt. Seeing his left wing about to be turned, he hastily rallied his army of reserve, advancing upon Halle, and left Prince Hohenlohe at Capellendorf to mask the retrograde movement. The duke recovered his confidence. On the road to Jena he found not more than thirty chasseurs stragglers. He thought it was not easy to surprise a skilful manœuvrer like himself. Hohenlohe's corps were encamped behind the heights of Jena; their masses extended beyond Weimar, and as far as the eye could reach. Napoleon reconnoitred them on the evening of the 13th, and fixed upon the following day for the attack. In the night he issued orders for the movements of the different corps. "Davoust," he is reported to have said, "must march on Apolda, so as to fall on the rear of the enemy's army: he may take what route he may think most expedient. If Bernadotte be a

hand, he may support him." In the meanwhile the duke of Brunswick flattered himself that the French could not debouch; but the axes of their pioneers removed every obstacle, and during the night a rock was cut through, and a passage made for the French artillery.

The battle commenced on the right and left; the conflict was terrible. Davoust, in particular, was placed in a situation sufficient to try a man of the most determined courage and firmness. Bernadotte refused to support him. He paraded round Apolda, while 26,000 French troops were engaged with 60,000 picked men, commanded by the duke of Brunswick and the king of Prussia.

In fact, it appears from Napoleon's own Memoirs that "the conduct of Bernadotte at Jena was such that the emperor had signed the decree for bringing him before a council of war, and he would inevitably have been shot, so general was the indignation of the army against him. It was out of regard for his wife, that the emperor destroyed the order at the moment he was about to put it into the hands of the prince of Neufchatel. Bernadotte commanded the first corps, of about 18,000 men; he arrived at Naumburg, in the rear of Marshal Davoust, who commanded the third corps, of about 30,000, to defend the defile of Kosen, and the field of battle at Averstadt. Half Davoust's corps had already passed the Saale, when Bernadotte arrived, and offered to head the column, upon the foolish pretext that his corps was No. 1. Davoust with reason, opposed this, representing that it would occasion the loss of valuable time, and would confuse the troops in a defile, which would be produc

tive of much mischief. Bernadotte then raised his camp, and marched towards Dornburg: at break of day he passed the Saale there. Precisely at this time Davoust was attacked by the king of Prussia, at the head of 60,000 of his best troops. He then felt severely the loss of the corps under Bernadotte. At Dornburg this marshal had still an opportunity of retrieving his error, by falling upon the rear of the Prussian army; but he contented himself with parading his troops, without firing a shot: the generals, officers, and soldiers, evinced the bitterness of their indignation in loud accusations of treason."

However, the route of the Prussians was complete. At night the wreck of their army was pursued; some Saxon battalions were taken, and the French entered *pêle mêle* with them into Weimar.

The ardour of the troops in general on this important day was such, that some corps, which circumstances prevented from taking part in the engagement, loudly expressed their dissatisfaction. One of these traits sufficiently characterize the soldiers, and the emperor under whose eyes they fought. Early in the battle of Jena, whilst the French cavalry were anxiously expected, Napoleon, seeing his wings in a state of agitation, being threatened by the enemy's cavalry, set off at full gallop to direct the manœuvres, and change the front into squares. The infantry of the imperial guard seeing all the rest of the troops engaged, whilst the emperor left them in inaction, many voices were heard crying, *Forward!* "Who is that?" said the emperor, smartly, and presenting himself in the front of the battalions.—"This is some beardless young man, who wishes to anticipate

what I intend to do. Let him wait till he has commanded in thirty pitched battles, before he pretend to give me advice."

The emperor established his head-quarters at Weimar. The dutchess of Weimar, daughter of the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, preserved the noble pride of the ancient Germans. When all the persons of her family saved themselves at Brunswick, where the unhappy issue of the battle of Jena was already known, she had the courage to shut herself up with her ladies of honour in her chateau at Weimar. The state apartments were prepared for Bonaparte. When he arrived at the castle, some days after, the dutchess, having quitted her apartment, placed herself at the head of the grand staircase, and received him with all suitable respect. "Who are you?" said he, drawing back.—"I am the dutchess of Weimar."—"I pity you," replied he; "I will crush your husband. Let me dine in my own apartments." Afterwards he passed hastily by her. The night was passed in disorder and tumult. The unhappy dutchess heard the distressing cries of her people, but could not assist them. However, early in the morning, she had the presence of mind to send one of her chamberlains to inquire after the health of his majesty, and to request an audience. This step, suitable to the ceremony of courts, put Napoleon in mind of his quality as emperor, and also, in that respect, of the duty due from him to a sovereign princess. He sent a polite answer, and invited himself to breakfast with the dutchess. Scarce had he entered the apartment, ere he began with his usual vivacity to question the dutchess: "How could your husband be such a fool as to make war

on me?"—"Your majesty would have despised him, if he had not;" was the noble answer of the princess.—"How so?"—The dutchess solemnly and gravely replied, "My husband has been in the service of the king of Prussia these thirty years, and certainly it was not a time for my husband with honour to quit him, at the moment he had so able and powerful an enemy as your majesty to contend with." This admirable reply, as full of dignity as address, made a deep impression on Bonaparte; his features relaxed, and he continued questioning in a milder manner. At length, Napoleon said, "Madam, you have saved your husband. You are the most respectable lady I ever knew." Afterwards, repeating his expressions of respect, he added, in an insolent manner, "I pardon him, but solely on your account; he himself is but an indifferent subject." The princess made no reply: as a good mother she remembered she was surrounded by unhappy children, for whom it became her far better to intercede; she did so, and succeeded; for she obtained of the conqueror his promise to spare the inhabitants of her dutchy: and Napoleon acknowledged she was an amiable and sensible woman, and of dignified manners.

Napoleon confessed that, in the night before the battle of Jena, he had been exposed to the most imminent danger. He might have disappeared then, without any one clearly knowing his fate. He had approached the bivouacs of the Prussians in the dark, to reconnoitre them, having only a few officers about his person. The French army was almost every where on the alert, from the persuasion that the Prussians were strongly addicted to nocturnal attacks. Returning from this party the



emperor was fired at by the first sentinel of his own camp, which proved a signal for the whole line ; and Napoleon had no resource but to throw himself flat on his face till the mistake was discovered. His principal apprehension, however, was not realized ; he feared that the Prussian line, which was very near him, would have acted in the same manner.

Whilst the French were following up their advantages, the Prussians were rallying their scattered forces at Magdeburg. The duke of Wirtemberg, one of their generals, had already taken a position at Halle, and Bernadotte was marching upon him. He attacked the Prussians with the bayonet, killing and routing all that dared to oppose him.

Arriving at Dessau, Napoleon treated the old duke and his son with much consideration. In the meanwhile the Prussians, flying towards Magdeburg, took refuge behind the intrenchments, where they were soon compelled to lay down their arms. The king himself narrowly escaped being taken. All the French corps were marching towards Berlin ; but the honour of taking possession of that city, Napoleon had reserved for Davoust's corps, which had contributed so much to the victory at Jena. On the way to Potsdam, the troops were overtaken by such a violent storm, that Napoleon though wrapped in his gray military great coat was obliged to enter a house, where he was astonished to see a young female, a native of Egypt, who was much agitated at his presence, bestowing upon him the same religious veneration which he had been accustomed to receive from the Arabs. She was the widow of an officer in the army a

the East, and had a son, for whom Napoleon undertook to provide, and granted her a pension of 1200 francs. "This," said Napoleon, "was the first time I ever took shelter against a storm, and I felt a presentiment that a good action awaited me."

The court had fled with such precipitation from Potsdam, that nothing had been carried away. Even the sword of Frederick the Great, the belt, and the cordon of his orders, were left here. Napoleon, taking possession of these, said, "I prefer these trophies to all the king of Prussia's treasures. I will send them to my veterans who served in the campaign of Hanover. I will present them to the governor of the Hospital of the Invalids, who will preserve them as a testimony of the victories of the army, and the revenge it has taken for the disasters of Rosbach."

After having visited, with religious veneration, the vault where the remains of the Great Frederick were deposited, he found them in a coffin of cedar, covered with copper, without ornament, trophy, or any inscription that might recall the feats that immortalize the name of this royal warrior.

Envoys soon arrived at Berlin from all the courts of Germany, petitioning Napoleon to show favour to their respective princes; but he would not hear the name of the duke of Weimar mentioned, being as indignant against him as he was favourably disposed towards the dutchess, whom he styled his *cousin*—a distinction which was then of no small importance. The elector of Hesse, also, wished to treat; but Napoleon was so much offended with him, that he would not receive his envoy. "As to him," said he, "his reign is ended."

The results of the termination of the battle of Jena were many, and of much importance to Napoleon. The Oder was crossed without loss of time. Marshal Davoust's corps, having suffered the most in these movements, was ordered to occupy Naumburg, Freyburg, and the heights between these places, to give his troops a day's rest, upon the left bank of the Unstruth. It would be difficult to paint the terror into which the grand catastrophe at Jena had thrown both the soldiers and the inhabitants of the country. Nothing could place the general alarm in a stronger point of view, than the phrase inserted in the Berlin Gazette on the following day: "The royal army has been defeated at Auerstadt; but the king and his brothers are alive." In fact, after this disaster, no more hope remained for the Prussian government. Every place, the capital not excepted, had opened its gates to the victorious army; five days had in a manner decided the fate of the monarchy, founded and augmented by the sword, and lately so flourishing.

The king of Prussia, who for a short time had taken refuge at Magdeburg, escaped from the place, by breaking through the weak cordon with which it had been at first invested. Marshal Ney having completed the blockade, the Prussian officers, so arrogant at the commencement of the campaign, were now much changed. They loudly solicited for peace. Several generals, and especially Prince Hohenlohe, said to General Belliard, during an interview with the governor of Magdeburg, "What does your emperor want? Will he continually pursue us with the sword in our loins? We have not had a moment's repose since the bat-

tle of Jera." They had solicited a truce for three days to bury the dead; to which the emperor answered, "Let them think of the living; we will bury the dead; there is no need of a truce for that."

Napoleon quitted Potzdam for Berlin, where he made his public entrance on the 27th of October. The magnificent appearance of this capital on its first view, and about Charlottenburg, and passing through the gate of the same name, added splendour to the triumph of the French monarch. The public tranquillity was so well secured, that the inhabitants of Berlin could scarcely perceive that their city was occupied by foreign troops. Things went on in their ordinary way; the play-houses were open, as in the time of profound peace; and the French actors represented the exploits of the grand army; but, with that delicacy so peculiar to the nation, the subjects they adopted for the stage were not connected with the history or the affairs of Prussia.

In October, 1806, the eighth corps of the grand army marched towards Hanover and Hamburgh, to shut the rivers Elbe and Weser against the English. Hameln and Niemberg soon capitulated, which example was followed by Hamburgh and Bremen; and thus the French for a time became masters of all the Hanseatic Towns, and the rivers that run into the North Sea and the Baltic.

The war with Prussia in this quarter was now terminated. Of a hundred and fifty thousand men that had formed the enemy's grand army, seven eighths had been killed, wounded, or made prisoners. About twenty thousand men, infantry and cavalry remained to King Frederick William, shut up in Glogau, Breslau, Brieg, Königsberg, and other

places in Silesia and the dutchy of Warsaw. The king, the queen, the chanceries, and some generals, had sought an asylum in Königsberg, the capital of Eastern Prussia, and this brought about the proposals for an armistice on the part of Prussia which Russia would not permit her to conclude. It was whilst waiting for the ratification of this armistice on the part of Prussia, that Napoleon issued from his palace at Berlin that famous decree, that was to place the British islands in a state of blockade, and to serve as the basis of a continental system, the principal object of which was the humiliation of the naval power of England.

By way of recapitulating the extraordinary successes of this short campaign, it may be necessary to recollect, that the first affair between the French and the Prussians took place at Schleitz on the 9th of October; that of Saalfeld was on the 10th. The battle of Jena was fought on the 14th. Erfurt capitulated on the 16th. On the 17th, Napoleon was at Weimar; on the 18th, the prince of Wirtemberg was beaten at Halle; on the 24th, the emperor arrived at Potsdam; Spandau capitulated next day. In the affair of Zehdenick, on the 26th, six thousand Prussian cavalry were defeated by the grand duke of Berg; on the 28th, Prince Augustus and Prince Hohenlohe were defeated and made prisoners at Prentzlow. Stettin was taken on the 29th of October; and on the 1st of November, Marshal Mortier seized on Hesse Cassel. On the 7th, Lubeck was taken, and Blucher capitulated at Shwartow, with 21,000 men. Magdeburg surrendered on the 8th; Posen was taken by Marshal Davoust on the 10th; Hameln in Hanover capitulated on the 20th; and Niemburg four days after. Ham-

burgh, Bremen, &c. were occupied by French troops preparatory to the issuing of the Berlin decree.

Napoleon left Berlin on the 25th of November 1806, and arrived at Posen on the 27th, and the next day gave audience to several deputations from the Poles. The grand duke of Berg, with a part of the cavalry of the reserve, and the corps under Marshals Davoust, Lannes, and Augereau, entered Warsaw on the 28th and 29th. The Russian general Bennigsen, who occupied the city, evacuated it on hearing of the approach of the French, Prince Jerome, with a corps of Bavarians, was at Kalitch, and all the rest of the army at Posen. Previous to the entrance of the French into Warsaw, some smart skirmishing had taken place between the French and Russian advanced guards, and the former made a number of prisoners. The Russians retreated over the Vistula, and burnt the bridge after they had passed.

The unfortunate but brave Poles, on contemplating the French, fancied they beheld the legions of the great Sobieski returning from a military expedition; but Napoleon could not make them a positive promise of their restoration as a kingdom: his observation on the subject was, "that if the match should once be lighted, there was no knowing how long it might continue to burn." Napoleon arrived at Warsaw on the 19th, where he remained till the 23d. Several corps had been already pushed over the Vistula, the Narew, and the Bug; redoubts, bridges, and *têtes-de-pont*, had been formed, and the Russian detachments were repulsed wherever they presented themselves.

The battle of Pultusk, on the 26th of December which General Bennigsen represented to his sove

reign as a victory obtained over a part of the French army, and which was celebrated as such by the Russian clergy in all the churches, certainly was in effect one of the rudest shocks the French had sustained since their entrance into Poland, where their infantry felt the need of all their intrepidity to preserve their superiority over the Russians, who had never behaved better than on this occasion. The cavalry conducted themselves with equal bravery.

During these proceedings, Marshal Soult marched towards Makow, to cut off the retreat of the enemy's columns, but the wretchedness of the roads and the weather saved the Russian army from an entire defeat. They nevertheless lost eighty pieces of artillery, twelve hundred carriages, and from ten to twelve thousand men killed, wounded, and made prisoners. The rest retreated to *Ostrolenka*.

## CHAPTER II.

*Operations in Silesia—Napoleon's generous Treatment of the Saxon Princes—Swedish Pomerania invaded by Marshal Mortier—Line of Defence upon the Vistula—Battle of Mohringen—The Russians driven from Bergfried—Affairs at Deppen and Wattendorf—Defeat of the Prussian General Lestocq—Hoff carried—Battle of Eylau—Defeat of the Russians at Ostrolenka—Surrender of Schweidnitz and Glatz—Success of Mortier in Pomerania—Affair of Braunsberg—Investment of Colberg and Dantzick—Battle of Friedland—Meeting of the two Emperors upon the Raft—Arrival of the King and Queen of Prussia at Tilsit—Anecdotes—Treaties at Tilsit—Marshal Brune enters Swedish Pomerania—Napoleon's Entry into Frankfort—Arrival at Paris—The French invade Portugal.*

SUCH had been the success of the French during the short campaigns of 1806, that, including all the Prussian garrisons in Silesia, in Dantzick, &c., not more than seventeen thousand men remained. Still, though hostilities had ceased in Poland at the end of 1806, they were continued in Silesia with activity. Plassenberg, near Culmbach upon the Maine, in Franconia, soon surrendered with a garrison of six hundred troops of the line besides invalids. Glogau was the next place invested, and the conduct of the siege left to General Vandamme, which place capitulated with two thousand five hundred troops. General Vandamme was next ordered to invest Breslau; but, being much stronger than the French conceived it to be, the place was not surrendered till the 5th of January, 1807.

It should have been observed, that, eight days after the battle of Jena, Napoleon having gener



ously sent home the Saxon prisoners serving under the Prussians, he granted a cessation of all hostilities against the elector Frederick Augustus, but placed French commandants at Dresden, and every other place of importance in Saxony, till the conclusion of a definitive peace, which was signed at Posen on the 11th of December, when the elector was admitted into the confederation of the Rhine and received the title of king, with the prospect of an increase of power. The ducal house of Saxony was not less fortunate, though every branch of it excepting that of Gotha, had taken an active part in the war against France. In fact, the prince of Saxe-Coburg, the reigning duke, and hereditary prince of Saxe-Weimar, furnished their contingents of troops, and even served in the Prussian armies. Peace, however, was signed with these princes. and the dukes of Saxe-Memmingen and Hildburghausen, at Posen, and all the princes of the ducal household were admitted into the confederation. The emperor Napoleon was less generous to three other sovereign princes connected with Prussia. The old duke of Brunswick died in the beginning of November, 1806, in a miserable village near Altona, not far from the field of Rosbach, once so glorious for him: his death was occasioned less by his wounds, than vexation at seeing the Prussian monarchy overthrown in one day, and himself and his children deprived of their estates. George William, the elector of Hesse Cassel, and the prince of Nassau Fulda, were also deprived of their territories by the formal declaration of Napoleon.

After the loss of Breslau, the following were the only places that remained to the king of Prussia

Schweidnitz, Neiss, Glatz, Kosel, Silberberg, and Brieg, in Silesia; Graudentz, Königsberg, Elbing Stargardt, Colberg, Memel, Dantzick, and the fortress of Weichselmunde, upon the Vistula and the Baltic. Brieg surrendered on the 11th of January, and Schweidnitz was soon invested in form. Swedish Pomerania was invaded by Marshal Mortier, and Stralsund invested. The Swedish troops were driven from every place at which they made a stand; but General Victor, whom the emperor intended should cover the siege of Colberg, was made prisoner by a detachment of cavalry, but afterwards exchanged for General Blücher.

The French had established a line of defence upon and beyond the Vistula, extending from Warsaw to the Baltic Sea, and here they reposed almost the whole of the month of December. Towards the beginning of January, 1807, movements on both sides seemed to indicate more serious operations. It appeared the Russians had adopted a vast plan of defence. Their generals seemed to have regained confidence, on seeing Napoleon stop in the midst of the advantages he had gained, and imputed that to fear, which in him arose from motives of prudence. They could not imagine what other reason he could possibly have for going into cantonments upon the Vistula.

But upon the very first movement made by the Russian army, Napoleon, having partly anticipated their plan of attack, ordered Bernadotte to fall back, to encourage the enemy in the prosecution of his designs. This movement had the desired effect; and on the 25th of January, Bernadotte had orders to proceed with the division of General Drouot to Mohringen, where he fell in with the

Russians, attacking General Pacthod in his position. The action soon became general, and terminated gloriously. The loss of the Russians was considerable ; that of the French was from two to three hundred killed and wounded. Bernadotte had orders to continue his retrograde movement to Thorn, to draw the Russians nearer the Vistula ; but the officer who carried these orders being taken by the Cossacks, the Russian general avoided the snare laid for him.

Bergfried being attacked by Marshal Soult on the 3d of February, the Russians retired to Liebstadt. The next day there was another affair near the village of Deppen ; and on the 5th the whole of the French army was re-united there. Upon the heights of Watterdorf, beyond Deppen, the grand duke of Berg found eight or nine thousand cavalry ; he ordered several charges, and compelled the enemy to retreat. Marshal Ney overtook a Prussian column, under General Lestocq, endeavouring to effect a passage through Deppen. This general, who was completely routed, abandoned all his cannon and baggage, and two thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. In consequence of these movements, the Russians lost a part of their line of communication, their depôts at Liebstadt and Guttstadt, and their magazines upon the Aller.

On the 6th of February, the rear guard of the Russian army was attacked near Hoff, and the village carried. The Russians continued their retreat ; but on the 7th, at day-break, the French advanced-guard overtook them about a quarter of a league from Prussian Eylau, when a sanguinary engagement took place, especially with the Rus

sians who had been stationed in the church and church-yard of this place. At ten at night both these positions were carried, the town of Eylau taken, and the streets covered with dead bodies.

At break of day, on the 8th, the Russian army, eighty thousand strong, appeared in columns within half cannon-shot of Eylau. A dreadful battle ensued, in which the French were victorious.

Nine thousand dead were counted, two thirds of whom were Russians. The French had nearly six thousand wounded. On the 9th, at day-break, the grand duke of Berg pursued the enemy for the space of ten leagues without seeing a single detachment of cavalry. His guards took a position within half a league of Königsberg.

The Russians carried sixteen thousand wounded into Königsberg; forty-five pieces of cannon remained with the French, and twelve thousand prisoners, including those made on the days preceding this great battle. The French army remained on the field of battle nine days, it being determined to give the troops some repose.

In the battles of Bergfried, Deppen, Hoff, and Eylau, the French took sixty-five pieces of cannon, sixteen standards, and killed, wounded, and made prisoners, 40,000 men.

On the 16th of February, the Russian general Essen was defeated at Ostrolenka by General Savary, commanding the fifth corps, and pursued for several leagues. This corps was now ordered to resume its winter-quarters. About the beginning of February, Schweidnitz surrendered. Glatz soon shared the same fate; and the emperor ordered the fortifications of all the captured places in Silesia to be demolished. In the meanwhile Marshal Mortier

was equally successful in Swedish Pomerania. The Russians that had retired behind the Pregel, encouraged by the apparent inactivity of Napoleon, repassed that river with a part of their troops, and formed a line which extended from Königsberg to Seeburg, and pushed their advanced posts upon the Aller and the Passarge, within sight of the French. On the 25th of February, a Russian division, that had advanced to Braunsberg, was attacked by General Dupont, who defeated them, took sixteen pieces of cannon, and upwards of ten thousand prisoners; drove them from the place, and compelled them to repass the Passarge.

Much skirmishing occurred in the vicinity of this river, previous to the recommencement of the campaign in the beginning of April, during which time Colberg and Dantzick were completely invested: the latter city surrendered to Marshal Lefebvre on the 24th of May, and the fort of Weichselmunde, near the mouth of the Vistula, two days after. Marshal Lefebvre was on this occasion created duke of Dantzick. The capture of Dantzick was followed by the sanguinary affairs of Spanden, Lomitten, Deppen, Guttstadt, and Heilsberg.

At length, on the 14th of June, the decisive battle of Friedland only served to add to the trophies already obtained by the French. Fifteen thousand of the enemy's dead covered the field of battle; seventy pieces of cannon, a great number of caissons, many colours, and some thousands of prisoners, were the trophies of this memorable day: the Russian cavalry had suffered an immense loss; twenty-five generals, and a considerable number of officers, were killed, wounded, or made prisoners

Owing to the position of the French, by which they were in a great measure covered, their killed and wounded did not exceed six thousand ; Napoleon on this occasion displayed that activity, and those great talents, that he had shown in the preceding campaigns. During the battle he was seen riding to and from the most exposed positions, and the troops frequently observed with apprehension the balls that passed near him, or fell spent at his feet.

After a succession of various military movements, on the 19th of June, at two in the afternoon, Napoleon entered Tilsit, where the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had been some days. In the environs of this town the French saw Kal-mucks for the first time. The arms of these Tartars, tributary to Russia, are arrows only, which they discharge flying, like the ancient Parthians ; a circumstance which excited the laughter of the French soldiers, who did not conceive these Tartars to be very formidable adversaries.

In this state of affairs, the emperor Alexander again thought proper to throw himself upon the moderation and generosity of Napoleon, by soliciting an armistice, which was granted, and followed in the course of a few days by the celebrated meeting of the two emperors in a pavilion erected upon a raft, on the river Niemen, near Tilsit.

This meeting of the two emperors was followed by the landing of both in Tilsit, where it was agreed the courts of Russia and Prussia should take up their residence. Both the emperors, on horseback, talking familiarly, rode through the high street of Tilsit, where the French imperial guard, horse and foot, were drawn up, and when

by the effect of that gallantry peculiar to the French, the cry of *Vive l'empereur Alexandre* resounded at the same time with that of *Vive l'empereur Napoleon* ! The two monarchs afterwards dined together, the grand duke Constantine and Murat being the only persons present at this repast.

On the 27th, Napoleon returned the emperor Alexander's visit at his new residence. On the 28th, the king of Prussia passed the Niemen, to occupy his new dwelling at Tilsit. He was received by Napoleon with all the consideration that could be expected, and the French monarch returned his visit on the same day. The palaces of the three sovereigns were near each other ; during their residence at Tilsit they had but one table, and that was furnished by Napoleon.

The queen of Prussia, as remarkable for the graces of her person as by the active part she had taken in the war, came to embellish, by her presence, this meeting of the three monarchs.

The emperor, referring, many years after, to this meeting at Tilsit, remarked, that, had the queen of Prussia arrived at the commencement of the negotiations, she might have exercised considerable influence with respect to the result. Happily, she arrived when they were sufficiently advanced to enable the emperor to decide upon their conclusion four-and-twenty hours afterwards. The king, it was thought, had prevented her early appearance, in consequence of a rising jealousy against a great personage, which was confidently stated, said the emperor, "not to have been destitute of some slight ground."

The moment of her arrival the emperor paid her a visit. "The queen of Prussia," said he, "has

been very beautiful, but she was beginning to lose some of the charms of her youth." The emperor declared, that the queen received him like Mademoiselle Duchinios in the character of Climene, thrown back into a grand attitude, calling aloud for *justice*. In one word, it was altogether a theatrical scene; the representation was truly tragic. He was unable to speak for an instant, and thought the only way of extricating himself was that of bringing back the business to the tone of regular comedy, which he attempted, by presenting her with a chair, and gently forcing her to be seated. She did not, however, discontinue the most pathetic expressions. "Prussia," she exclaimed, "had been blindfolded with respect to her power; she had dared to contend with a hero; to oppose herself to the destinies of France; to neglect his auspicious friendship; she was deservedly punished for it. The glory of the Great Frederick, his memory, and his inheritance, had puffed up the pride of Prussia, and had caused her ruin!" &c. &c. She solicited, supplicated, implored. Magdeburg, in particular, was the object of her efforts and wishes. The emperor kept his ground as well as he could. Fortunately, the husband made his appearance. The queen reproved, with an expressive look, the unreasonable interruption, and showed some pettishness. In fact, the king attempted to take part in the conversation, and spoiled the whole affair, and "I was," said the emperor, "set at liberty."

The emperor entertained the queen at dinner. Here, he said, she played off all her wit against him—she had a great deal; all her manners—which were very fascinating; all her coquetry—she was not without charms. Determined not to yield Na



napoleon found it necessary to keep a great command over himself, that he might continue exempt from any kind of engagement, and every expression which might be taken in a doubtful sense, and the more so, because he was carefully watched, and especially by Alexander.

An instant before dinner, Napoleon took a very beautiful rose from a flower-stand, which he presented to the queen. She at first expressed, by the motion of her hand, a kind of prepared refusal; but, suddenly recollecting herself, she said, "*Yes: but at least with Magdeburg.*"—The emperor replied, "But . . . . I shall observe to your majesty, that it is I who present, and you who are about to receive it."

The queen was seated at table between the two emperors, who rivalled each other in their attention. She was placed near Alexander's best ear: (with one he could scarcely hear.) She retired in the evening. The emperor Napoleon was now resolved to come to a point. He sent for M. de Talleyrand and Prince Kourakin; talked big to them; and, letting fly some hard words, observed, that, after all, a woman and a piece of gallantry ought not to alter a system conceived for the destiny of a great people, and that he insisted upon the immediate conclusion of the negotiations, and the signing of the treaty; which took place according to his order.

"Thus," said he, "the queen of Prussia's conversation advanced the treaty by a week or a fortnight. She was indignant when she heard that the treaty was signed; wept a great deal, and determined to see the emperor Napoleon no more. Alexander was himself obliged to prevail upon her

to accept a second invitation to dinner. She complained that Napoleon had broken his word. "He has made you no promise," was Alexander's observation to her; "if you can prove the contrary, I here pledge myself, as between man and man, to make him keep his promise, and he will do so, I am convinced."—"But he has given me to understand," said she, . . . . "No," replied Alexander, "and you have nothing to reproach him with."

Napoleon, who had no longer any occasion to be on his guard against her, redoubled his attentions. She played off, for a few moments, the airs of an offended coquette, and when the dinner was over, and she was about to retire, Napoleon presented his hand, and conducted her to the middle of the staircase, where he stopped. She squeezed his hand, and said with a kind of tenderness, "Is it possible, that, after having had the honour of being so near to the hero of the century, and of history, he will not leave me the power and satisfaction of being enabled to assure him, that he has attached me to him for life?"—"Madam," replied the emperor, in a serious tone, "I am to be pitied; it is the result of my unhappy stars."—He then took leave of her. When she reached her carriage, she threw herself into it in tears; sent for Duroc, whom she highly esteemed, renewed all her complaints to him, and said, pointing to the palace, "There is a place in which I have been cruelly deceived."

"The queen of Prussia," said the emperor, "was unquestionably gifted with many happy resources; she possessed a great deal of information, and had many excellent capabilities. It was she who really reigned for more than fifteen years."

Napoleon reproached himself with a real fault, in allowing the king of Prussia's presence at Tilsit. His first determination was to prevent his coming. He would then have been less bound to show any attention to his interests. He might have kept Silesia, he might have aggrandized Saxony with it, and have probably reserved for himself another kind of destiny. He further remarked, "I learn that the politicians of the present day find great fault with my treaty of Tilsit; they have discovered that I had, by that means, placed Europe at the mercy of the Russians; but if I had succeeded at Moscow, and it is now known how very near I was, they would no doubt have admired us for having, on the contrary, by that treaty, placed the Russians at the mercy of Europe. I entertained great designs with respect to the Germans . . . . But I failed, and therefore I was wrong. This is according to every rule of justice."

Almost every day, at Tilsit, the two emperors and the king rode out on horseback together; "but," said Napoleon, "the latter was always awkward and unlucky." The Prussians felt it very visibly. Napoleon was always between the two sovereigns; but either the king fell behind, or jostled and incommoded Napoleon. He showed the same awkwardness on his return: the two emperors dismounted in an instant, and took each other by the hand, to go up stairs together. But as the honours were done by Napoleon, he could not enter without first seeing the king pass. I was sometimes necessary to wait a long time, and as the weather was often rainy, it happened that the two emperors got wet on the king's account, to the great dissatisfaction of all the spectators.

"This awkwardness," said the emperor, "was the more glaring, as Alexander is in possession of all the graces, and equal, in elegance of manners, to the most polished and amiable ornaments of our Parisian drawing-rooms. The latter was at times so tired of his companion, who seemed lost in his own sorrows, or in some other cause, that we mutually agreed on breaking up our common meeting, to get rid of him. We separated immediately after dinner, under the pretence of some particular business; but Alexander and I met shortly afterwards, to take tea with one another, and we then continued in conversation until midnight, and even beyond it."

Alexander and Napoleon met again some time after at Erfurt, and exchanged the most striking testimonies of affection. Alexander expressed, with earnestness, the sentiments of tender friendship and real admiration which he entertained for Napoleon. They passed some days together in the enjoyment of the charms of perfect intimacy, and of the most familiar communications of private life. "We were," said the emperor, "two young men of quality, who, in their common pleasures, had no secret from each other."

Peace, so anxiously desired, was concluded on the 9th of July. There were two separate treaties; one between France and Russia, and the other with Prussia. It was natural that Frederick William, who had provoked the war, should pay the whole expense. A part of the new kingdom of Westphalia, by virtue of these treaties, was given to Prince Jerome, brother of Napoleon; the dutchy of Warsaw was ceded to the ancient elector, Frederick Augustus, then king of Saxony; the city of

Dantzick with its territory was taken from the Prussian monarchy. Russia, by the special grace of Napoleon, gained a portion of territory upon the borders of the Bug and the Narew, and was thus aggrandized at the expense of that sovereign, in whose animosity against France she had participated.

Besides these cessions of territory, the king of Prussia had to pay such enormous contributions, that his finances were exhausted; and his provinces, in consequence of their long occupation by the French troops, were in a deplorable situation. Alexander and Frederick William solemnly acknowledged the new kings of Naples, Holland and Westphalia.

The king of Sweden having renewed his hostility, the whole of Swedish Pomerania, Stralsund and the island of Rugen, were soon in the power of the French under Marshal Brune.

The emperor Napoleon quitted Tilsit about the middle of July for Warsaw, and went from thence to Dresden. On the 24th, he made his triumphal entry into Frankfort, the capital of the states of the prince primate of the confederation of the Rhine; and on the 27th, at five in the morning, he was upon his return to his palace at St. Cloud. On the following day, at eleven, he received in succession the congratulations of the senate, the tribunate, and the legislative corps, the clergy of Paris and other bodies.

On the 23d of August, 1807, the marriage of Prince Jerome, the new king of Westphalia, with the Princess Catherine of Wirtemberg, was celebrated.

About the beginning of August, French troops were collected at Bayonne, to compel the Portuguese to shut their ports against the English; and in the middle of October, they were on their march under General Junot.

The prince of the Brazils, his family, his court, and his ministers, had all embarked from Lisbon for South America on the 28th in the morning. On the 29th, General Junot entered Lisbon at eight o'clock. The grenadiers and voltigeurs were so fatigued with their previous marches, that they could not regulate their pace by the sound of the drum, whilst passing through the streets of this immense city, which at that time contained a population of three hundred thousand souls, and fourteen thousand regular troops.

On the 15th of December, the French army had happily recovered from its fatigues, and general measures had been adopted for the common safety. The French colours were ordered by General Junot to be hoisted upon the forts, the castle of Belem, and the principal batteries at Lisbon, in the room of the Portuguese. This event, so unexpected by the people of that city, excited a sensation so much the more lively, as, according to popular prejudice, the national flag was looked upon as a gift from the Son of God, the Redeemer of man.

## CHAPTER III.

*Reflections upon the Decline of Napoleon's military Fortune—Situation of Spain—Intrigues of Don M. Godoy—Ferdinand, Charles IV. and his Family inveigled to Bayonne—Proclamation to the Spanish Nation—Battle of Baylen—New Preparations for the War—Napoleon arrives at Burgos—The Spanish Armies defeated at Espinosa, &c.—Attack of the Somo Sierra—Arrival of the French Army near Madrid—Madrid surrendered—Proclamation by Napoleon to the Spaniards.*

WE are now arrived at an epoch in the life of Napoleon, from which we may fairly date the decline of his military fortune: this was the unjust war with Spain. This country, it must be allowed, was heartily tired of its alliance with France, resulting from the treaty concluded at Fontainebleau on the 26th of October, 1807. Its navy was almost annihilated; its ports were shut by the English: besides these inconveniences, the Spanish government had to pay an annual subsidy of six millions to Napoleon, during the war, in lieu of some other engagements stipulated by that treaty. When Prussia, excited by England, and supported by Russia, declared war against France, Godoy, the Spanish minister and favourite, not ignorant of the secret inclinations of Austria, hoped to see all Europe again joined in a coalition against France, and almost persuaded himself that he already saw the approaching ruin of the man, to whose car he had attached himself during his prosperity. This minister, then wishing in secret to join the cause that he expected would triumph, addressed a vehement proclamation to the Spaniards, in the name of

his sovereign, which failed in its effect, precisely because it had been dictated by Godoy.

Napoleon was informed of this act of imprudence whilst on the field of battle at Jena, about sunset on the 14th of October, 1806; but did not then seem to think it of any importance. Perhaps he was not sorry that Godoy, the favourite, had furnished him with a pretext, sooner or later, for depriving the Bourbons of the Spanish crown, as he had already acted in this manner by the king of Naples.

This Spanish proclamation, published on the 3d of October, 1806, began to circulate in Spain just after the arrival of the news of the battle of Jena. Godoy then felt the weight of his imprudence, and thought to repair his fault, by sending an ambassador extraordinary to felicitate Napoleon upon his new triumph. Being questioned upon the object of his proclamation, Godoy answered, that the apprehension of an immediate attack on the coasts of Spain by the emperor of Morocco, seconded by the English, had excited this appeal, and the extraordinary armaments that were to follow; but Napoleon could not be induced to listen a moment to an excuse so ridiculous.

A decided misunderstanding had long existed between Godoy and the heir presumptive of the Spanish crown; by some attributed to the indignation that had been excited in the mind of young Ferdinand by the scandalous elevation of a favourite without talents or virtue, and the overbearing ascendancy which he exercised over the king and queen, not to mention the partiality he had shown for France. Charles IV. at length becoming seriously indisposed, a rumour was spread that Godoy



had obtained a promise from him to be the regent of the kingdom, in case of Charles's demise, from whence the malignity of his enemies inferred the probability of the assassination of young Ferdinand, who, being alarmed, wrote a letter with his own hand, on the 11th of October, to Napoleon, requesting to be married to a princess of his family, without acquainting the king of that correspondence. This was afterwards made use of by Godoy to the prejudice of the prince, who, it seems, would certainly have fallen a victim to the intrigues of Godoy and his party, had not Napoleon, by his address, and for the furtherance of his own views on the country, got the king, queen, and prince, and the whole party, into his power at Bayonne. On the 30th of April, the king and the queen mother arrived at that place. Godoy had preceded them four days, having been released from his confinement in the chateau of Villa Viciosa, and conducted to Bayonne by one of the aide-de-camp of Murat.

Ferdinand, when at Bayonne, being anxious to know the intentions of Napoleon with regard to him, the emperor, on the second audience that he gave him, declared that Charles IV. having abdicated in consequence of a popular commotion at Aranjuez, and this monarch having protested against that act, obtained from him by violence, the French sovereign could not acknowledge its validity, nor bestow upon the prince of the Asturias an illegal title. The Spaniards, who accompanied the prince, were struck with consternation at this declaration, and the prince himself deeply regretted that he had not taken the advice of his friends at Burgos, not to put himself into the hands of an enemy to the

house of Bourbon. But the dejection of the prince and his friends was extreme, when, a few days after, Napoleon gave him to understand, "that it was not convenient for him to suffer the Bourbons to reign any longer in Spain," and offered to Ferdinand the throne of Etruria in Italy, in exchange for that which he had lost. This offer he rejected, declaring that he never would renounce his right to the crown of Spain, and that he would have all or nothing. In the meanwhile, though Charles himself had been received by Napoleon as the reigning monarch, it was not long before he fell into the snares that had been laid for him; a treaty, which he made with Napoleon on the 6th of May, 1808, contained his renunciation of the throne of Spain: this was agreed to by Ferdinand and the infant Don Carlos, Charles IV. &c. The king, the queen his spouse, Don Manuel Godoy, and the rest of the family, were sent to the chateau of Compeigne. Ferdinand and his brother Don Carlos had their residence assigned them at the chateau of Valencay, an estate belonging to Prince Talleyrand. This chateau is in one of the finest situations in France, in the midst of an extensive forest. This, in 1808, was the residence of Ferdinand VII.: his brother and his uncle were there with him; they were without any guard; he had all his officers and servants, and received what visits he pleased; he was at liberty to make excursions of several leagues, either for the purpose of hunting or in his carriage. Besides the 72,000 francs, which the French treasury annually paid as the rent of Valencay, Ferdinand received for his maintenance 1,500,000 francs per annum. He wrote every month to Napoleon, who answered his letters. On the 15th of August

and on the empress's birth-day, he never failed to illuminate the chateau and park of Valencay, and to distribute alms. He asked, several times, Napoleon's leave to go to Paris, which was successively adjourned: he solicited him to adopt him as his son, and marry him to a French princess. He had the enjoyment of a very fine library, often received visits from the neighbouring gentry, and from the merchants of Paris, who were eager to carry novelties to him. He long had a theatre and a company of comedians; but his confessors inspired him with scruples of conscience upon the propriety of this diversion, and he dismissed the troop.

The junta of Spain, which was only a deliberative-body, and a kind of privy council to the new government, was every moment in expectation of the changes that were to follow the new order of things. Murat did not delay laying before them the two treaties signed by King Charles and Prince Ferdinand, as well as a proclamation dated Bourdeaux, and addressed to the nation. In this document, the infants Don Antonio and Don Carlos asserted, on the part of the Spaniards, the necessity and utility of uniting their interests to those of France.

The contents of this paper evidently prove that it was written by Napoleon himself, but published under the pretext of its being the production of the Spanish princes. The emperor, on his side, addressed another proclamation, of a conciliating character, to the Spanish nation.

After having received various communications from Napoleon, several members of the junta proposed to the grand duke of Berg and the ambassador Laforest, to give the nation the free exercise of

ts rights, in convoking the cortes; but such a proposal could not possibly be received by these agents of Napoleon; they were too well acquainted with the intentions of their master, even to venture to lay it before him. However, the same junta was very shortly after induced to publish their acceptance of Joseph Bonaparte, elder brother of Napoleon, as their sovereign; his promotion to the throne of Spain and the Indies having been announced in an imperial decree of the 5th of June, 1808.

Such were the events preparatory to a war that eventually led to the final overthrow of its author and his abettors, in consequence of the landing in Portugal by the English, and the astonishing success of Sir Arthur Wellesley and his successors.

The French army, defeated at Caldos, Roleia, and Vimeira; was obliged to capitulate on the 30th of August, according to the convention of Cintra. General Junot was more fortunate than Dupont at Baylen, in June, 1808. The insurrection against the French in Spain had become general. War was declared against France by the supreme junta of Seville, on the 6th of June; the French admiral Rossily, who was in the harbour of Cadiz with five men of war, capitulated on the 14th. Castanos, the Spanish general, was nominated general-in-chief of all the troops in Andalusia; and General Caro obtained the same rank in the kingdom of Valencia, where he was attacked by Marshal Moncey at the head of 15,000 old soldiers. The defence was so skilful and so valorous, that the French were obliged to retreat towards Madrid on the 28th of June. General Blake was routed on the 14th of July, at Medina del rio Secco, by Marshal Bessieres; but that defeat was amply revenge

by the triumph of Castanos, an event in the life of Napoleon, which caused him the most extreme mortification.

The battle of Baylen proved one of the first and most fatal reverses of the French; here, after a desperate engagement on the 23d of July, upwards of eighteen thousand men, under General Dupont, surrendered to the Spaniards, defiled before the Spanish army with the honours of war, and deposited their arms in the manner agreed on by both parties.

The catastrophe of Baylen, the valiant defence of Saragossa, and the necessity the French army was under, of taking a defensive position upon the right bank of the Ebro, had in some measure opened the eyes of Napoleon, as to the character of the nation upon whom he wished to impose the yoke of his power. He acknowledged, too late, that he had imprudently entered into the war, and committed a great fault in having commenced it with forces too few in number, and too widely scattered. Eighty thousand of his old troops, the instruments of his glory and success in Italy, Germany, and Poland, were consequently ordered to march towards the Pyrenees; the contingents of the confederation of the Rhine were also put in motion, and his senate sanctioned the levy of a hundred and sixty thousand conscripts.

Determined to march at the head of this new army, Napoleon wished beforehand to fathom the inclinations of the courts of Austria and Russia, in order that no obstacles might be thrown in his way; he therefore procured an interview with the emperor Alexander at Erfurt, where the princes of the Rhenish confederation were present. On the 3d

of November, 1808, he was at the castle of Mar-rac, near Bayonne, and here he gave the first orders for the actual recommencement of hostilities upon the borders of the Ebro.

After a variety of military movements, Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Burgos, and sent out detachments in several directions in pursuit of the enemy. The battle of Espinosa, fought on the 10th and 11th of November, was extremely sanguinary. In this and other battles which followed, two of the principal Spanish armies were destroyed, viz. those of Estremadura and Galicia. This success determined the emperor to march rapidly upon Madrid, whilst his armies on the right and left completed the dispersion of the vanquished troops, and prevented their junction with the corps that covered the capital.

On the 29th of November, Napoleon was at Bozeguillas; on the 30th, at day-break, the duke of Belluno, Marshal Victor, arrived near the strong position of Somo Sierra, defended by thirteen thousand men under General San Juan.

Another bloody battle here ensued, and the Spanish corps were totally dispersed. They lost ten stands of colours, all their artillery and baggage, thirty caissons, the regimental chests, a great number killed, wounded, and prisoners, including several colonels and other superior officers.

On the first of December, the whole of Marshal Ney's corps formed a junction with the army of the centre, and the head-quarters were fixed at the village of Sant Augustino on the same day. On the second, the emperor, with the cavalry of his guard, Maubourg's and Lahoussaie's dragoons moved towards the heights from which Madrid may

be seen, approaching it by the high road from Castille. This city was in a state of fermentation in the highest degree. An aid-de-camp, sent by Marshal Bessieres to summon the authorities to open the gates, narrowly escaped with his life, from the exasperation of the populace. The military junta returned for answer, that the populace would rather bury themselves under the ruins of the place than submit. It is sufficient to add, that this city could not resist the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, that soon made a breach in the edifice called the Retiro, which, with other places, was immediately inundated by French troops. Consternation now became general, and on the 4th of December, at six in the morning, General Morla and Don Fernando de la Vera went to the headquarters of the prince of Neufchatel, to announce that the peaceable inhabitants would gratefully accept the generous proposals of the emperor. General Belliard, being appointed governor of Madrid, entered the capital about ten o'clock, with a body of troops.

The emperor, not choosing to enter Madrid, encamped with his guards upon the heights of Chamartin, a mile from the city, where he continued to take measures calculated to ensure the subjugation of the whole country. The occupation of the Spanish capital did not produce the submission expected in the provinces.

After the French troops had entered Madrid, Napoleon lost no time in issuing a proclamation, in which he promised the Spanish nation every thing that the benignity of his disposition could bestow, provided they quietly received his brother, and, like loyal subjects, swore fealty and allegiance to

him: while, on the other hand, he denounced the severest vengeance if they continued contumacious. In an address, which the corregidor and magistrates of Madrid presented to him on the 9th of December, the inhabitants are made to thank him for his clemency, and to solicit the favour of seeing King Joseph at Madrid.



## CHAPTER IV.

*Retreat of the English Army—Napoleon's Arrival at Astorga—  
Manœuvres in the Environs of Lugo—Battle of Corunna—  
Death of Sir John Moore—Surrender of Roses and Saragosa—  
Napoleon's Return to France—War between France and  
Austria—Battles of Abensberg, Landshut, and Eckmühl—Attack  
of Ratisbon—Combat of Ebersberg—Surrender of Vienna—  
Battle of Essling—Interesting Interview between Bonaparte and  
Marshal Lannes, when mortally wounded—Operations of Prince  
Eugene and the Duke of Ragusa.*

SIR JOHN MOORE having effected a junction with the corps of Sir David Baird, near Benavente, on the 20th of December, 1808, Napoleon quitted his head-quarters at Chamartin on the 22d, and advanced with his guard, the corps of Marshal Ney, and the cavalry of Marshal Bessieres, in the direction of Valladolid. On the 25th, the emperor's head-quarters were at Tordesilas. Sir John Moore was on his march through Villada, towards Carrion, with the intention of attacking the French, when he learned that Marshal Soult was himself marching on his right towards Leon and Astorga, and that another corps, under the emperor in person, had arrived by forced marches at Valladolid. Perceiving the danger of his position, the English general immediately ordered his troops to fall back upon Benavente, upon the borders of the Esla, at which place they were collected on the 29th of December. After having broken the bridges upon the Orbigo, the English columns pursued their way to Villafranca. On the 1st of January, 1809, the emperor arrived at Astorga; he ordered Marshal Soult to continue the pursuit of the enemy.

The British army had overrun the space of fifty-five leagues between Villafranca and Lugo, where it arrived on the 5th, at night, in forty-eight hours; but, to make this effort, it was necessary to abandon a part of their treasure, cannon, baggage, and ammunition. On the same day that the English entered Lugo, the French arrived at Ferriera, and there overtook a rear-guard belonging to the enemy. Marshal Soult, supposing that the English general intended to make a stand at Lugo, thought proper to reunite his columns before he commenced a decisive attack.

On the 9th, at four in the morning, the French army was under arms; but the English had taken the precaution to light large fires, whilst the noise of a continued movement seemed to indicate that they were preparing for battle. Day, however, unveiled the truth. The main body of the English had withdrawn from Lugo at nine o'clock on the preceding night, so that on the next day they had gained ten leagues in advance of Marshal Soult. After sustaining unheard-of fatigues, the English advanced guard could not suppress their shouts of exultation on seeing the walls of Corunna, on the 11th of January, at which place, in the course of the afternoon, all the troops, to the number of fifteen thousand, were collected. From three to four thousand light troops, detached by Sir John Moore from Astorga towards Orensee, were not pursued, and reached Vigo in safety.

The English, in this disastrous retreat, lost between three and four thousand men, in consequence of hunger and fatigue. The cavalry was dismounted, and nearly three thousand horses died, or were killed by their riders.

It is acknowledged, that the excellent dispositions made by Sir John Moore to prevent any surprise on the part of the French, and the firmness of the British in the battle of Corunna on the 16th, procured him leisure to embark his troops from that port with little or no molestation, though it cost the life of their general, who, Napoleon himself acknowledged, was a "brave soldier, an excellent officer, and a man of talent: he died gloriously: he died like a soldier."

The English fleet having disappeared, Marshal Soult summoned the place, still garrisoned by two Spanish regiments under General Alzedo, who capitulated on the 20th.

Ferrol was the next place that opened its gates to the French; and the occupation of Vigo, soon after, completed the conquest of Galicia. In Catalonia, Roses opened its gates to the French on the 6th of December, 1808. Barcelona, blockaded by General Reding, was liberated by the defeat of the Spaniards. Saragossa, the capital of Aragon, surrendered on the 21st of February, after the most heroic defence under General Palafox. But this success, though very brilliant on the part of the French, was not sufficiently decisive to induce the Spanish nation to submit to their new king, Joseph.

At the commencement of 1809, a warlike monarch, surrounded with all the charms of victory, and the paraphernalia of invincible power, was at the head of the French armies in Spain. In four pitched battles he destroyed all the forces that a nation risen in a mass could oppose against him. At the first report of Napoleon's approach, the English army hastened to avoid an engagement.

Under these circumstances, and whilst a great number of Spaniards were already persuaded that the revolution effected at Bayonne, and the invasion of the country, might eventually lead to the enjoyment of rational liberty, Austria suddenly interfered with menaces of war, and Napoleon was forced to turn his attention to the defence of the territory of his allies in Germany. He then traversed Spain with the rapidity of lightning, and flew to the spot where new dangers and new triumphs awaited him. Napoleon took with him his guard, that imposing reserve of his army. He left behind him a feeble king, equally as incapable of keeping, as of obtaining a conquest; and an army distributed over an immense space of territory, weakened by endemic diseases, reduced by partial combats, and without re-enforcements from the interior of the empire. During the whole of the German campaign of 1809, the French in Spain were merely able to maintain themselves in the positions which they occupied soon after Napoleon's departure. The results of the war here, after he ceased to take a part in it, decidedly prove that it was not in the power of his lieutenants to complete the subjugation of that country. The absence of the supreme director paralyzed all their efforts, and even rendered their advantages short-lived and illusory. There was no longer any agreement amongst them; each of them endeavoured to carry on the war upon his own foundation; and none of them was sufficiently disinterested to make any sacrifice in favour of another.

Scarcely had Napoleon repassed the Pyrenees, when the British cabinet, redoubling their solicitations to the court of Vienna, insisted that the mo

ment was arrived for avenging the humiliation of former campaigns, and for disengaging itself from the shameful stipulations of the treaty of Presburg. Hostile preparations were then renewed with more vigour than ever. A war, at this period, with Austria, was so contrary to the views of Napoleon, that he used every possible means of conciliation to avoid it, and even proposed to Francis II. the mediation of Russia; but, following the advice of the British cabinet, this overture was rejected.

In the month of February, 1809, the disposable forces of the emperor of Austria amounted to 400,000 men; whilst, for opening the campaign in Germany, Napoleon could not reckon upon more than 200,000, including the troops of the confederation of the Rhine. The courts of Paris and Vienna had continued to exchange illusory notes till the end of March; but, on the 6th of April, a proclamation from the archduke Charles, appointed generalissimo of the Austrian armies, announcing war with France, put an end to all uncertainty.

On the 9th of April, the archduke Charles addressed the following note to the general-in-chief of the French army at Munich: "According to the declaration of his majesty the emperor of Austria, I have to inform M. le General-in-chief, that I have orders to advance with the troops under my command, and to treat all those who make resistance as enemies." On the same day, the Austrian advanced guard passed the Inn, and on the following, hostilities commenced, whilst the bulk of the army followed the movement of the advanced guard. On the 10th of April, correspondent operations took place at all points.

The emperor Napoleon having been informed at Paris, on the evening of the 12th, of the commencement of hostilities in Germany, this was the signal for his departure. On the 16th, he arrived at Dillingen on the Danube, where he met the king of Bavaria, who had retired from Munich. Napoleon promised Maximilian to restore him to his capital in fifteen days. On the 17th, his headquarters were at Donawerth, where he employed himself in giving such orders as circumstances had rendered necessary.

General Oudinot arrived at Pfaffenhoffen, where he met three or four thousand Austrians, whom he attacked, and took three hundred prisoners. The duke of Rivoli arrived next day at Pfaffenhoffen. The same day, the duke of Auerstadt left Ratisbon to advance to Neustadt, and to draw near to Ingoldstadt. It was evident, then, that Napoleon's plan was to out-manœuvre the enemy, who had passed through Landshut.

The combat of Tann took place on the 19th. At Pressing, Napoleon gained a battle most glorious to the French arms. In the battle of Abensberg, which occurred on the 20th, the emperor was resolved to destroy the corps of the archduke Louis and General Keller, amounting to sixty thousand men. Napoleon determined to fight that day at the head of the Bavarians and Wirtembergers. He ordered their officers to form a circle, and addressed them in a long speech, translated to them in German by the prince royal of Bavaria. He then gave the signal for battle, and adapted manœuvres to the particular character of the troops. The attack of the French was successful at all points, and the enemy beat a retreat after fighting about an hour. Eight

standards, twelve pieces of cannon, and eighteen thousand prisoners, were the result of this affair, which cost the French but few men.

IN retreating through Landshut the Austrians sustained great losses. The arrival of General Oudinot at the head of his whole corps by way of Mandelstadt, and the information received by the Austrian General Hiller, that Massena had passed the Iser at Mosburg, and was advancing to join Napoleon, hastened the further retreat of the enemy upon the Inn, through Neumark and Alt Oetting, still pursued by Marshal Bessieres; and thus the operations of two remarkable days effected the separation of the grand Austrian army in two parts; and thus the retreat of General Hiller left the centre of the archduke Charles's army completely uncovered.

During these proceedings, the archduke Charles had formed a junction with the Bohemian army under Kollowrath, and obtained some partial success at Ratisbon. This event made an impression upon the emperor, and he swore that in twenty-four hours Austrian blood should flow in Ratisbon to avenge the insult that had been offered to his arms. There was no time to be lost; he began his march from Landshut with several divisions under him. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived opposite to Echmuhl, where four corps of the Austrian army, consisting of one hundred and ten thousand men, had taken a position under the archduke Charles. One of the most beautiful sights which **war** could produce then presented itself: one hundred and ten thousand men were attacked on all points, turned on their left, and successively driven from all their positions. The Austrians were com-

pletely routed. All their wounded, the greater part of their artillery, and twenty thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of the victors.

On the 23d, at day-break, the French army advanced upon Ratisbon. Eight thousand Austrians having been cut in pieces, the enemy precipitately repassed the Danube. Having no time to destroy the bridge, the French passed over with them to the left bank.

At the battle of Abensberg the emperor beat separately the two corps of the archduke Louis and General Keller; at the battle of Landshut he took the centre of their communications, and the general depôt of their magazines and artillery; finally, at the battle of Echmuhl, the three corps of Hohenzollern, Rosemberg and Lichtenstein, were defeated.

On the 27th of April, the emperor Napoleon had his head-quarters at Muhldorf.

The duke of Dantzick, after having accompanied King Maximilian to Munich, had orders to enter the Tyrol with the whole of his force; to drive the Austrians out of that country, and thus secure the rear of the grand army against any attempts from this quarter.

On the 27th of April, the Marshals Lannes, Bessieres, and Massena, began to advance beyond the Inn. On the 30th, the emperor arrived at Burghausen with his guard. From the 30th of April till the 2d of May, the French army continued its progressive march. General Oudinot seized upon Ried. The dukes of Montebello and Istria occupied Wels. On the right, Marshal Lefebvre directed the march of a column upon Kuffstein, and another upon Rastadt upon the Ems, thus occupy



mg two routes leading into Italy across the Tyrol. A third column, pursuing the retreat of the Austrian general Jellachich towards Styria, came up with the enemy at Colling, and occasioned him some loss. On the left, the duke of Rivoli pursued the route from Scharding to Efferden.

On the 3d of May, the advanced guard of the French army, under Massena, arrived at Linz. On the same day, the emperor's head-quarters were at Lambach. Near Ebersberg, the enemy was boldly attacked the moment he was advancing towards the bridge to gain the right bank of the Traun, under the protection of numerous batteries. This day cost the Austrians four thousand five hundred killed and wounded, and from six to seven thousand prisoners. On the 6th of May, the prince of Ponte Corvo had his head-quarters at Rœtz, upon the high road from Ratisbon to Prague. On the same day, the duke of Montebello arrived with his troops at Moelk, whilst the duke of Rivoli supplied their place at Amstetten, and the duke of Auerstadt at Linz.

On the 7th of May, the Austrian general Hiller arriving at St. Polten, divided his troops, and passed the Danube over the bridge of Krems with the most numerous body; the rest, composed of light troops, under General Nordmann, pursued the route to Vienna, to assist in the defence of that city till the arrival of the archduke Charles, who had flattered himself with being able to operate on both sides of the Danube. On the 9th of May, the corps of Marshals Massena and Lannes formed a junction near Sieghartskirchen, four leagues from the Austrian capital. On the same day, the emperor's head-quarters were at St. Polten, the prince

of Echmuhl quitted Lintz for Mcelk. The prince of Ponte Corvo pursued the rear of the archduke Charles, and, harassing him with several demonstrations, obliged him to divide his army; lastly, the duke of Dantzick continued to march towards the Tyrol, and arrived at Innspruck.

On the 10th of May, at nine in the morning, Napoleon appeared at the gates of Vienna, with the corps of the duke of Montebello. This was exactly a month after the Austrian army had passed the Inn to invade Bavaria. The emperor slept in the evening at the imperial chateau of Schoenbrunn. Vienna was then occupied by the archduke Maximilian with ten battalions of the line and ten of the landwehr making from fifteen to sixteen thousand men. The duke of Montebello, by order of Napoleon, sent Colonel Lagrange to summon the city to open its gates, when the enraged populace would have assassinated him, had he not been rescued by a picket. Soon after, the fire of the ramparts commenced at all points.

Napoleon was reduced thus reluctantly to the hard necessity of bombarding the place. General Bertrand, of the engineers, chose to erect a battery of twenty howitzers upon the spot where the Turks, in 1683, first opened their trenches. This battery, covered by the emperor's stables, began to bombard the place about nine o'clock, but could not silence the fire of the ramparts. Several hotels and large buildings in the city became the prey of the flames, and spread the greatest consternation amongst an immense population, shut up as it were in a narrow space. In the interim, a flag of truce was sent out, to announce that the young archduchess Maria Louise, ill of the small-pox,

not being able to accompany her father and mother, was then in the imperial palace, exposed to the fire of the French artillery. Out of respect to this princess, Napoleon changed the direction of the batteries in such a manner, that the palace was preserved. The archduke, finding his communications threatened, ordered the troops of the line to evacuate the city, leaving the battalions of the landwehr under General O'Reilly, whom he had authorized to treat for a capitulation. In fact, the emperor Napoleon, on the following day, granted the deputation sent to him the same capitulation which they had received from him in the year 1805; the articles were signed in the evening, and, on the following day, General Oudinot's troops occupied the city, the garrison of which remained prisoners of war.

Napoleon did not enter Vienna, but the imperial guard was cantoned about Schoenbrunn, and the corps under the dukes of Rivoli, Montebello and Istria, in the environs of that city. Two points offered themselves for the passage of the Danube; the first to the left of the place, near the village of Nausdorf, and below Bisamberg, and which commanded an excellent position on the other side, supposing the river could be passed in sufficient force before the enemy arrived. An attempt made to seize this position did not succeed. The second point was on the right, between the island of Lobau and Presburg. Here the Danube is divided into several branches, and the heights on the right bank allow of the works being protected by batteries. The isle of Lobau, to which the emperor gave the preference, about a mile and a half east of Vienna, is covered with trees, and surrounded with bushes

on all sides, which conceal even the most elevated situations upon it.

On the 21st of May, the whole Austrian army was under arms, and drawn up in two lines behind Gerardsdorf, between the mount Bisamberg and the Russbach, a brook. At four in the evening the archduke, having learned by his out-posts that a part of the French army was in position, no longer hesitated to advance. The Austrian army then presented a total of ninety thousand men, with two hundred and twenty-eight pieces of cannon of different calibre. To resist this force Napoleon had not more than forty thousand men with him, and the greatest part of the artillery was in the island of Lobau.

The action commenced with a vigorous attack by the archduke upon the left wing of the French at Gros Aspern. The defence, conducted by Marshal Massena, was equally as spirited as the attack; three times the Austrians, much superior in number, endeavoured to carry the village of Aspern, and three times they were repulsed. Boudet's division, which defended Essling under the duke of Montebello, did not display less firmness and valour. Marshal Bessieres, advancing with rapidity upon the corps under General Hohenzollern, broke it, and threw it into disorder. The Austrian cavalry in their turn endeavoured to overthrow the French; O'Reilly's regiment was cut in pieces; but night came on, and put an end to this combat.

This murderous day, in which the advantage did not rest with either party, was the prelude to the terrible and memorable battle on the day following. During the night, the division of St. Hilaire, the corps of Oudinot, a part of the old and new guard,

two brigades of light cavalry, and the train of artillery, arrived from the island of Lobau, and entered into line with the other troops. These reinforcements increased the French army to forty-five thousand men.

On the 22d, at day-break, the archduke Charles made his dispositions for renewing the battle, which began at four in the morning. The columns of Generals Hiller and Bellegarde attacked the village of Aspern, still occupied by the marshal duke of Rivoli, with an additional division. The French firmly maintained their position. Whilst this was passing on the left of the French line, the Austrians attacked the village of Essling with equal vigour; but this was obstinately defended by Boudet's division.

Towards seven in the evening, Napoleon conceived the idea of separating the Austrian army, by penetrating through its centre, and charged the duke of Montebello with this operation. The enemy's efforts to resist the French columns were in vain; they continued to advance with the cry of *Vive l'empereur!* the Austrian line was soon obliged to retreat, though in very good order. It was seven in the morning: the French cavalry had reached the little village of Breitenlee, the archduke's head-quarters. Only a few more efforts were now wanting to complete the triumph of fifty thousand Frenchmen over ninety thousand of their enemies, when suddenly it was understood that the emperor had just received information, that the bridges thrown over the Danube had been carried away by boats loaded with stones, launched from the islands above that of Lobau. It now appeared impossible that the rest of the army, composed

of more than forty thousand men, eighty pieces of artillery, &c., could pass into the isle of Lobau, or over to the left shore of the Danube. Such intelligence as this would have disconcerted any other chief than Napoleon: he, without showing the least alteration in his countenance, and with heroic indifference, sent orders to Marshal Lannes to slacken his pursuit, and to return slowly into a position between Aspern and Essling.

Perceiving the French thus arrested in their career of victory, the archduke Charles had no doubt but that the auxiliary means that had been preparing had taken their intended effect; and the battle was renewed upon the same ground, and with the same balance of success, as on the preceding evening. The villages of Aspern and Essling were attacked by the reserve of the enemy's grenadiers, who had not before taken any part in the action. The feeble French army, compelled to be sparing of its ammunition, knowing they could no longer receive any supply, could oppose nothing but their bayonets to these terrible attacks, excepting their native valour and unshaken constancy. The troops exposed to this dreadful fire from their adversaries, never fired unless when the enemy's columns were within forty paces. Whilst the intrepid Marshal Lannes, at the head of his brave men, was running along the front of his line, and encouraging them by his voice and example, he was struck on the knee by a ball. General St. Hilaire and a number of officers were mortally wounded, yet their fall did not dishearten the brave men they commanded for a moment; they saw their ranks thinned without any emotions of terror; they closed as fast and still dared the death that menaced them.

Napoleon saw that victory was departing from his eagles; but, superior to fortune, he continued his dispositions as in a day of triumph. He sent reinforcements to the points most pressed; he endeavoured to gain time without compromising the safety of his troops. Gros Aspern, in the mean while, was taken and retaken four times, and Essling eight. At the last of these attacks, the emperor made the regiment of fusileers, and the tirailleurs of the guard, advance under the generals Mouton and Curial: they took and remained in possession of Essling, which the enemy attempted no more to disturb. The old guard, commanded by General Dorsenne, was placed in the third line, and the Austrians wisely thought that their efforts would fail against those brave veterans. At length, at nine at night, this sanguinary conflict ceased: the French preserved the positions they had in the morning, and the Austrians bivouacked where they were. Both armies sustained nearly an equal loss; from fifteen to twenty thousand men had been killed or wounded on both sides.

Ever since ten in the morning, the engineers and the artillery officers had been employed in the island of Lobau repairing the damage done to the bridges, especially that which kept up the communication with the left bank of the Danube; but they had now to struggle with the fire-ships that were continually coming down, and against the waters of the river, that had risen eight feet in the space of some hours, occasioned by the melting of the snows in the mountains. Cables were broken vessels, drifted away, had the greatest difficulty to regain the current; they were replaced and drifted

again and again. Before the bridge was well fixed, men and ammunition were passed over, which enabled the French to hold out till night. Though the engagement ceased to be general at nine o'clock, the advanced posts continued firing till midnight.

Napoleon had passed over to the isle of Lobau before the bridge was in a state to sustain the numbers that followed. He was walking alone at a great pace, and apparently with his eyes to the ground, when he observed a long file of the wounded endeavouring to gain the island, there to find protection and relief to their sufferings. In tracing the line of this funeral march, he observed a group advancing, and carrying Marshal Lannes. Crossing their fire-locks, and with some branches of oak, twelve old grenadiers, covered with blood and dust, had formed a bier, upon which lay stretched the illustrious warrior. As soon as the emperor perceived this was the duke of Montebello, he hastened to meet him. The grenadiers stopped, and Napoleon, throwing himself upon his old companion in arms, who had fainted with the loss of blood, with a voice scarcely articulate, said several times, "Lannes, my friend, do you know me? It is the emperor; it is Bonaparte; your friend." At these words Lannes, opening his eyes, till then closed, collected his spirits, and made some attempts to speak; but, not being able, he could only lift his dying arms to pass them round the neck of Napoleon. Thus embracing and mingling their sighs, the old grenadiers, during this mute eloquence, could not suppress the tears of sympathy that fell from those eyes that had so lately gleamed with a very different passion.



When as many of the wounded as it was possible to remove had been brought to Lobau, a bark was prepared, in which Napoleon traversed the broadest arm of the Danube, and joined the troops that remained upon the right bank of that river. Before he quitted the island, he dictated an order to Marshal Massena, enjoining him to make his retreat to the island with all possible silence, after having lighted and increased the fire of his bivouacks, for the purpose of deceiving the enemy. The French army performed this retrograde movement, and the passage of the bridge, with admirable order; at four in the morning, all the troops and the artillery were collected in the island, and the bridge removed.

But to return to the operations on the other side: from the approaching sound of the cannon, the corps of Marshal Davoust, the division under General St. Sulpice, and some other troops left on the right of the river, could easily judge how much their presence was wanted. Their desperation was extreme, when they found that no means were left for their passage.

The archduke Charles did not profit by the advantage which this retreat of a part of the French army had offered him, and which was more than counterbalanced, soon after, by the arrival of the army of Italy under Prince Eugene.

The archduke John, commanding the Austrian army in Italy, was completely beaten by the French in the affairs upon the Piave, St. Daniel, Tarvis, and Goritzia. On the 28th of May, the duke of Ragusa, commanding the army of Dalmatia, effected his junction at Fiume with the army of Italy

In adverting to the plan of operations laid down by Napoleon, it may be necessary to observe, that, according to this, the divisions of infantry under Generals Clausel and Montichard, that occupied Dalmatia and part of Illyria, were to form the extreme right of the grand army as soon as Prince Eugene should have formed his junction with it. In the meanwhile the viceroy, in advancing upon the frontiers of Austria and Hungary, on the 5th of June, was in possession of Ædenburg, the first frontier town in Hungary. Two days after this, the prince established his head-quarters at Guntz. Advancing towards Raab on the 12th, the town of Papa was occupied, after a brisk engagement, in which General Grouchy made six hundred prisoners

## CHAPTER V.

*Battle of Raab—Desperate Affair of the Square-house—Ability and Courage of Prince Eugene—Positions occupied by the Army of the Archduke Charles—The Island of Lobau—Operations of the French—Passage of the Danube—Battles of Enzersdorff, Wagram, Gros Aspern, &c.—Generals Macdonald and Oudinot appointed Marshals—Retreat and Pursuit of the Austrians—Arrival of Napoleon at Znaim—Conditions of an Armistice agreed upon—Marriage with the Archduchess Marie Louise proposed by Napoleon—Reflections—Attempt of a young German to assassinate Napoleon—Arrival of the Emperor at Fontainebleau—Expedition against Walcheren*

ON the 13th, in the morning, the French army was in motion for Raab ; here they found the Austrian army in position upon the heights that mask that city. Twelve hundred select troops occupied as an advanced post a farm, or large square building, which had been carefully fortified. A deep water, which enclosed the marsh on the left, bathed the walls of this farm, and increased the difficulties of its approach. The rear of this formidable position was bristled with artillery. Prince Eugene, having reconnoitred the whole line, made his dispositions for the attack, which was fixed for the 14th. The viceroy, with thirty-five thousand men, attacked fifty thousand of the enemy. Whilst General Seras made an attempt upon the farm, or square-house, General Montbrun made a movement upon the right of the enemy's light troops, which obliged them to unmask the front of their infantry, and throw themselves precipitately towards the left of their line. Having arrived near the farm, General Seras made dispositions for carrying it by

main force ; but the depth of the water, spoken of before, presented an obstacle which his troops could not easily surmount. General Seras, however, whilst other corps were more successful against the enemy, made a vigorous attack upon the troops posted on the right of the square-house but, notwithstanding the success that attended this movement, he did not obtain possession before three successive attacks had been made upon it. The taking of this position was absolutely necessary to ensure the success of the day : accordingly the viceroy sent a brigade to re-enforce General Seras, with orders to renew the attack without delay. This brigade then proceeded to attack the front of this fortress, whilst General Seras turned the position, to take it in the rear : still, notwithstanding the intrepidity and devotion of the assailants, they could not sustain the dreadful fire of musketry and grape poured upon them by the Austrians. In the course of a few minutes, General Roussel's brigade had upwards of six hundred men, with thirty-six officers, killed and wounded, and was obliged to retire on his right. General Seras then, rendered almost desperate by his want of success, took the resolution to recommence another attack with the whole of his troops. After having run through the ranks, and animated the courage of the soldiers, telling them that the success of the day depended entirely upon the last effort they were going to make, he ordered the charge to be beaten, and putting himself at their head, precipitated himself upon this fatal position. Expression would be wanting, to give the details of this terrible attack ; but in some minutes the square-house was entered, in spite of all the obstacles that surrounded it ; the

walls were scaled, the gates forced open by the sappers, and the French, covered with blood and dirt, entered the walls. In vain did the Austrian grenadiers demand quarter, upon their knees, of the conquerors, whose fury knew no bounds: the house was burnt, and all that escaped the flames perished by the sword. Not one Austrian survived this terrible disaster. At four o'clock the victory was decisive. Three thousand prisoners, and six pieces of cannon, were the result: the enemy left three thousand dead on the field. On the following day he was closely pursued on the road of Comorn and Pest.

The operations of Prince Eugene, during this campaign, had placed him in a distinguished rank amongst the first generals of the French armies. In the space of two months, he had advanced from the shores of the Adige to the Danube. Thirty-seven thousand prisoners, twelve standards, nearly two hundred pieces of cannon, ammunition, magazines, &c., were the trophies that he presented to Napoleon, when he came with his valiant troops to contribute to the latest success of the grand army.

Ever since the battle of Essling, the two grand armies, French and Austrian, had remained not inactive, but without undertaking any thing of moment. The army of the archduke, augmented by the numerous levies made in Hungary, counted, in his ranks upon the left bank of the Danube, upwards of 170,000 men, with nearly 900 pieces of artillery. The Austrian general had raised some very strong works opposite the island of Lobau, parallel with the Danube, forming a line extending from the village of Gros Aspern, and passing through the village of Essling, to the little town

of Enzersdorff. The main body of the Austrian army, established upon some hills about a mile behind these intrenchments, had its front covered by a running water, the Rasbach, the borders of which were fortified with other small works. Napoleon had established the greatest part of his army in the island of Lobau. This island, about two leagues in circumference, was now become a kind of fortified place, nearly covered with works. Three bridges were constructed in parallel lines, six hundred paces in length. Upon one of these three carriages might pass abreast: by these the island was connected with the right bank of the Danube, and thus a communication with Vienna was secured. Stockades, established in different directions, protected these bridges against every new insult, and even from fire-ships, and other incendiary machines. On the 1st of July, the French army, including the troops marching under the viceroy, was from 140 to 150,000 strong. The corps who had fought at Essling were encamped at Lobau; the others were distributed between Vienna and Presburg.

The time was now approaching, when the fate of the Austrian monarchy was expected to be decided by a single battle. The archduke imagined the French army would debouch upon the left of the Danube from the same point as before, and by the same means. The emperor, on his part, endeavoured to strengthen this supposition, in order to draw the attention of this prince from his real object, which was, to render all his works and intrenchments of no use to him. On the 2d of July, five hundred voltigeurs passed into the island Du Moulin, opposite Essling, and took a position: thi

island was soon joined to the continent by a little bridge, in advance of which a *fleche* was constructed. As the emperor wished, this operation attracted the attention of the enemy; and the redoubts of Essling directed a brisk fire upon this false point of attack. During the 4th, a large portion of the army was collected on the right bank: at ten at night, General Oudinot embarked fifteen hundred voltigeurs, on board ten gun-boats, under General Conroux, who landed them below the isle of Lobau: some of the enemy's posts were driven back upon the village of Muhlleuten. At eleven o'clock, a terrible cannonade commenced upon Enzersdorff and the enemy's left: the houses at Enzersdorff were soon on fire. The enemy's artillery answered that of the French with great vigour; but nothing could prevent the passage of the Danube by the French. The army was formed; Massena's corps was on the left, those of the prince of Ponte Corvo and General Oudinot in the centre, and Marshal Davoust upon the right. The army of Italy, under the vicéroy, the corps of the duke of Dalmatia, the imperial guard, and the heavy cavalry, debouched successively, to form a second line and the reserves. The enemy could then perceive the intentions of Napoleon: he saw the French army drawn up in order of battle upon the left extremity of his line, all the works of which were now rendered useless. The archduke, compelled to change his front, was obliged to leave his redoubts nearly a mile in his rear, and accept battle upon the ground which the French emperor himself had chosen.

The action commenced between seven and eight in the morning. At this moment the batteries that had played upon Enzersdorff all night had compe<sup>l</sup>

led the enemy to retire, excepting four battalions left to protect the smoking ruins. Colonel St. Croix, being sent upon this point, made these battalions prisoners. General Oudinot then surrounded the castle of Sachsengang, which the enemy had fortified, took nine hundred men he found there, and twelve pieces of cannon. The emperor then made the whole army deploy in the immense plain of Enzersdorff. The archduke Charles, thus deceived in his hopes, ordered several manœuvres, with a view to regain some advantages upon this new field of battle. Leaving the main body of his army in their lines near the Danube, and behind the Rusbach, he detached several columns of infantry, supported by a numerous artillery and all his cavalry, to overwhelm the right of the French. One of these columns occupied the village of Rutzendorf; but General Oudinot soon drove them out, and Napoleon sent orders to the prince of Echmühl to support his right, whilst he threatened the enemy's left. From noon till nine at night, the French continued to manœuvre in the plain of Enzersdorff, and occupied most of the villages in advance of Rusbach. Marshal Massena successively seized upon the works of Essling and Gros Aspern, while the Saxons, under Prince Ponte Corvo, carried the village of Raasdorf. At nine o'clock, an attack was made upon the Austrian centre at Wagram, by Prince Eugene. This position, strongly fortified, was soon carried by the three divisions of Pacthod, Seras, and Lamarque. The victors had already got beyond Wagram, when numerous re-enforcements sent by the archduke, and the flanking fire of many batteries on the right and left, forced General Macdonald to retreat. Instead of pursuing



he French beyond Wagram, the Austrians were satisfied with retaking the position, and remaining in it. General Macdonald rallied his columns, and the whole army bivouacked upon the field of battle, waiting with impatience the return of day.

The operations here described have in some narrations been called the battle of Enzersdorff; but the affair of the 5th of July was in reality only the prelude to the great battle that was fought on the day following, generally called the battle of Wagram.

Napoleon had employed a part of the night in collecting a strong mass opposite the centre of the enemy's line, and within cannon-shot of the village of Wagram. Marshal Massena advanced upon the left of Atterklau, leaving at Gros Aspern a single division, with orders, if necessary, to fall back upon the isle of Lobau. Marshal Davoust passed the village of Grosshoffen, to approach the French centre. Subsequent to the movements of the evening, the archduke had weakened his centre to re-enforce his wings, to which he gave a much greater extent. The right of the enemy's line, upon which they had begun to raise fresh redoubts, supported by the Danube, extended from Stradlau to Gerasdorf, the centre at Wagram, and the left from this last village to Markgrafen Neusiedel.

At day-break the French army was again formed and under arms; the prince of Ponte Corvo and Marshal Massena on the left; Prince Eugene in the centre, with the troops of the army of Italy, re-enforced by Broussier's division, that had arrived from the isle of Lobau; the corps of Dalmatia, under General Marmont; that of the grenadiers and voltigeurs united, under General Ordinat: in the

rear of these were the imperial guards and the heavy cavalry, forming several lines; the prince of Echmuhl's corps formed the right. The ground covered by the two armies was about two leagues in extent. The troops nearest the Danube were but twelve hundred fathoms from the city of Vienna, so that the towers, the steeples and the tops of the highest houses, were covered by the numerous population, thus become spectators of the terrible contest that was preparing.

At sunrise, July 6th, the cannonade commenced upon the two lines. At five o'clock, the left of the Austrian army, under Prince Rosenberg, debouched from Markgrafen Neusiedel, whilst the right, composed of the corps of Generals Beilegarde, Kol-lowrath, Lichtenstein, and Hiller, advanced upon Stadlau; Prince Hohenlohe's corps, alone forming the centre, remained in its position at Wagram. The emperor, perceiving that the prince of Rosenberg was moving against Marshal Davoust, repaired in person to the right wing, which he re-enforced with the cuirassiers under General Arrighe, and caused twelve pieces of light artillery to advance upon the flank of the enemy's columns. After an obstinate engagement of two hours' duration, Davoust succeeded in repulsing his adversary as far as Neusiedel, with considerable loss.

Whilst the French army thus signalized itself by its success in this part of the field, the battle was carried on all along the rest of the line. In moving his grand masses to the right, it was the intention of the archduke to force the French left, and cut off the army from its bridges upon the Danube. Thus, at the moment when a part of his columns were warmly engaged with the prince

of Ponte Corvo and Marshal Massena, he put himself at the head of thirty-five thousand of his best troops, in the space between the main body of Massena's troops and the division he had left at Gros Aspern. This mass easily overthrew the feeble posts which occurred in its progress, and soon threatened the flanks of the French army. The columns, also, that attacked the left front, made great progress: Gros Aspern was carried; the prince of Ponte Corvo's corps, consisting of Saxons and Bavarians, was overthrown and routed. The left wing of the French, thus forced, formed in a square, with one side facing the Danube. The archduke, pursuing his success, outflanked the French by more than half a league. He even pushed parties almost up to the bridges. A panic was spread in the rear of the French army; and to the number of non-combatants the battle seemed lost: they fled with all imaginable speed towards Lobau, carrying with them the most alarming rumours. It was about nine in the morning, when several officers of the staff came to inform Napoleon that the enemy had made a furious attack upon Marshal Massena and the prince of Ponte Corvo, and that the left wing was already outflanked to the extent of nearly three thousand toises; that the enemy deployed numerous troops, and a formidable artillery, in the space that separated Gros Aspern from Wagram. After having ordered Marshal Davoust to turn the position of Neusiedel, and then to proceed to Wagram, Napoleon hastened to the left, to inquire into the real state of affairs. The movement prescribed to the prince of Echmuhl was happily executed. Whilst the two divisions of Gudin and Pacthod attacked the village on the right, General Morand

moved on the left of the enemy, whom he turned and attacked all at once. He was supported by General Friant, who disposed his troops in *echelons* having on his left the artillery of the division, re-enforced by seven twelve-pounders that the emperor had caused to advance on this point. The superiority of the enemy's forces at first compelled Morand's division to give ground; but Friant's having advanced with a charging pace, the Austrians were driven back to their intrenchments, where they were forced, and in a few moments the heights between Wagram and Neusiedel were crowned by the victors. At the same moment, Neusiedel was carried by the divisions of Gudin and Pachtod. The enemy's left, entirely overthrown, was forced upon the centre, and pursued by the four divisions under Davoust. The movement upon the heights of Neusiedel was General Friant's own act, and obtained the applause of Napoleon.

When the emperor perceived his light troop upon the heights of Wagram, he ordered Marshal Massena to make good his positions, and asserted that the battle was gained; at the same time he ordered a decisive attack upon the enemy's centre by the three divisions of Seras, Broussier, and Lamarque, under Marshal Macdonald, to be supported by the corps under Generals Marmont and Oudinot. Marshal Bessieres had also been ordered to move with the cavalry of the guard, and that of the reserve, and to make a charge upon the flanks of the formidable columns under the archduke Charles, whilst General Lauriston, at the head of a battery of a hundred pieces of cannon, advanced upon a tract, without firing, till they came within half shot of the enemy's columns.

The enemy presented nine grand masses of infantry and cavalry, protected by artillery. The Austrian cavalry was the first to charge the French ; but these, formed in squares, repulsed the shock with vigour. The enemy, to avoid being turned by the troops under the prince of Echmühl, abandoned the heights of Baumersdorf ; these were occupied by General Pacthod.

During this time, the hundred pieces of cannon under General Lauriston had made great ravages in the enemy's right, and reduced his artillery to silence. The left wing of the Austrians, hotly pursued, hastily retired to Wagram, where they hoped they should be able to rally ; but the united attacks of the divisions of the prince of Echmühl and General Oudinot gave them no time to form again. They retired, but in a manner worthy of the admiration of the brave troops who had compelled them to make this movement.

The battle was completely gained. The emperor, witness to the last and incredible efforts of the army of Italy, directed by Macdonald, was so well satisfied, that he thought proper to reward all these brave men upon the field of battle, in the person of their worthy chief. On the day following the victory, and before the army was in motion to pursue the vanquished, Napoleon embraced General Macdonald, and named him a marshal of the empire. The same rank was granted a few days after to General Oudinot, and to the duke of Ragusa, for their eminent services.

In the night between the 6th and 7th, the Austrian army retired upon Kornenburg and Wolkersdorf, where the emperor Francis had staid during the battle. From hence he hastened to Moravia

abandoning, as the trophies of his defeat, ten standards, forty pieces of cannon, nearly eighteen thousand prisoners, nine thousand wounded, and a great quantity of equipage. His loss in killed amounted to about four thousand. The loss of the French, much less than that of the enemy, was six thousand wounded, and two thousand six hundred killed.

The soldiers, of all arms, had rivalled each other in intrepidity and glory on this memorable day. Napoleon himself had been several times exposed in the midst of the most terrible fire. Ever since morning he had been running through the different lines, encouraging the troops by his presence and his persuasive eloquence. Many were killed by the balls and bullets that flew about him. It was observed, that the enemy's fire was particularly directed against the groups that environed the emperor. In consequence of this, he was obliged to change his surtout three times.

The Austrian army retreated through Gaunersdorf, and the French overtook their rear-guard beyond Wolkersdorf, where Napoleon fixed his head-quarters in the same house the emperor of Austria had occupied on the evening before.

On the 11th, at noon, Napoleon arrived before Znaim, at the moment the prince of Essling had seized upon the bridge at this city. At this time, Prince John of Lichtenstein presented himself before the French posts to treat for an armistice. The emperor received this envoy, who had been sent on a similar mission in 1805, and immediately ordered the firing to cease. The proposed armistice was concluded in the night between the 11th and 12th; and the principal articles stipulated, that the citadels or forts of Brunn and Gratz should be

evacuated directly by the Austrian troops, that they should abandon the Tyrol and the Voralberg, and give up the fort of Sacksenburg to the French. The armistice of Znaim, intended to last only a month, was prolonged till the month of October but, owing to difficulties that occurred, the treaty was not signed till the 14th of that month.

The most important clause in this treaty, and which did not form any part of the articles signed by the plenipotentiaries, was not intended to be made known for a considerable time. Napoleon had demanded the hand of the young archduchess Marie Louise, the eldest daughter of Francis II. Very great obstacles seemed to oppose this union, especially as it was one of the conditions dictated by the conqueror; it was repulsive to the conveniences, the opinion, and the hereditary pride of the house of Austria: however, the emperor of the French undertook to smooth the difficulties that existed on his side, and the Austrian monarch consented to the sacrifice demanded.

It was in vain that a legitimate union, sanctioned by time, and consecrated by the solemnity of a coronation, had associated the fate of Josephine with that of Napoleon. Neither the virtues of this lady, whom he had placed by his side, nor the gratitude that he owed to the first promoter of his fortune, could arrest the ambition of the French emperor. He pretended to be in want of an heir, though he had already proposed his brothers as his successors. A *senatus consulte*, on the 16th of December, 1809, declared the dissolution of his marriage with Josephine. The church also yielded in its turn. The nullity of the marriage, as to any spiritual obligation, was likewise pronounced by the officiality o

Paris. The victim, too, of this determination, whose grief should have saved her from the humiliation of figuring in this business, could not be excused: she was compelled to come forward and declare, "that, having no more hope of giving children to her husband, which would be consistent with his politics, she resigned herself to the greatest sacrifice that she could possibly be called on to make."

Two days before the ratification of the treaty of Vienna, Napoleon was in danger of assassination, during the review of the troops upon the parade at Schoenbrunn. A young man, of an interesting figure, and of a placid appearance, who had concealed himself among the spectators, suddenly rushed upon the emperor, attempting to strike him with a poniard. The prince of Neufchatel arrested his arm, and General Rapp immediately seized the assassin. Napoleon was sufficiently master of himself to preserve an unaltered countenance, and continued to order the evolutions, as if the incident that occurred had been of no importance. Two days afterwards the young man suffered death.

This attempt at assassination is said to have powerfully contributed to accelerate the peace with Austria, and hasten the return of Napoleon to France.

Napoleon departed from Schoenbrunn on the 27th of October.

Arrived at Fontainebleau, no preparations had been made for the emperor's reception—not even a guard was upon duty; the court and family, however, arrived soon after. The court left Fontainebleau on the following day: the emperor rode to Paris without stirrups; he outstripped all his escort; only one chasseur was able to keep up with



him. In this manner he arrived at the Tuilleries.

Three days after his arrival at Paris, the peace was proclaimed with the usual ceremonies. It is useless to dwell upon the enthusiasm with which this event was hailed by the French people of all classes. The nation had already begun to be extremely weary of the wars, in which the politics of their sovereign were continually involving them.

The year 1809 was distinguished by the unsuccessful expedition of Lord Chatham to the island of Walcheren.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Marriage of Napoleon with the Archduchess Marie Louise proposed—Anecdotes of the Imperial Family of Austria—Prince Berthier sent to Vienna—Marriage of the Emperor at Paris—Letter from the new Empress to her Tutor at Vienna—Napoleon's Remarks on the Conduct of the two Empresses—Origin of the Disagreements between Napoleon and the Pope—Ferdinand of Spain and Baron Kolly—Holland and other Countries united to the French Empire—Bernadotte elected Prince royal of Sweden—Birth of the King of Rome—Bonaparte begins his Plans for the Invasion of Russia.*

THE commencement of the year 1810 was rendered remarkable by the consummation of a marriage between Napoleon Bonaparte and the archduchess Marie Louise, which had been the subject of rumour some months before. After Napoleon had made himself master of Vienna in 1809, he chose the beautiful castle of Schoenbrunn, near that city, for his residence, during which he proceeded to gratify his curiosity in surveying the apartments deserted in haste some weeks before by the imperial family. Napoleon, attended by M. Meyer, one of the castle inspectors, on entering an apartment, observed the portraits of the emperor's children, Marie Louise, Leopoldina, and Clementina, when his attention was so powerfully attracted by the first, that he asked the inspector if Marie Louise was as handsome and agreeable as there represented, telling him to state his opinion fairly and clearly. This he did with such satisfaction to Napoleon, that he ordered the portrait to be put into his cabinet, and placed before his writing-table. On leaving Vienna, he carried the portrait with him. It is added that, when the proposal of

a marriage was made to Louise by her father, the windows of the room, in which the conversation took place, opened towards the ruined walls and fortifications of Vienna. "Can you," said she to the emperor Francis, "give the hand of your beloved child to such a destroyer?"—"True," said Francis, "but the evils you deplore, and all the misfortunes of the country, arise from the laws of war." In fact, it is stated, that the importunity of the emperor with his daughter was seconded by his *tears*, which she could not resist, but promised to comply with his wishes to their fullest extent.

It is also asserted by the countess Chauclos, who was present, that the princess Leopoldina, then between thirteen and fourteen years of age perceiving the aversion of her eldest sister to this union, said, "she would be married to Napoleon, to deliver them out of their painful situation."

On the 5th of March, the prince of Neufchatel, commissioned to demand the archduchess Marie Louise, made his public entry into Vienna and, on the 8th appeared at court in full ceremony, where, after approaching the emperor's throne, he announced the purport of his message in a short speech. The emperor Francis sent for his daughter : she appeared, gave her consent, and received a portrait of the emperor Napoleon. After this, the prince of Neufchatel waited on the archduke Charles, and communicated to him the desire of the emperor Napoleon, that he would act as his representative in the marriage ceremony. On the 11th of March, the nuptials were celebrated at Vienna,

six in the evening, in the church of the Augustines ; and on the 13th, the empress set out for

Paris. At Brannau she was received by the queen of Naples ; and she was welcomed in all the capitals through which she passed. The emperor. Napoleon had repaired to Compeigne ; and on the day on which she was expected there, he desired the king of Holland to go and meet her at Soissons ; but, while he stopped in that city, Napoleon changed his determination, set out for Compeigne in a calash, passed the king of Holland, met the empress, and returned to the palace of Soissons whilst his brother was still there.

In the evening of the 28th of March, Napoleon re-entered Compeigne with the empress. The civil marriage took place at St. Cloud on the 1st of April, 1810, and the religious ceremony was solemnized in the chapel of the Louvre on the following day. All the kings and princes assembled in Paris were present.

As this marriage was political, and that almost to a degree of cruelty towards the first empress, many, no doubt, had their suspicion as to whether the connexion would prove a happy one. To show that it was such, the following letter, written by the young archdutchess, has been referred to. The old Count Edling had been Marie Louise's preceptor at Vienna. In June, 1810, one of the chamberlains that accompanied her to Paris returned to Vienna, and, with other despatches for the imperial family, was charged by the empress Marie Louise with an autograph letter in German to the old count, of which the following is a translation :

*"My dear Count Edling,*  
*"I have received from you so many testimonies*

of your care and affection, that I feel an ardent desire to inform you by Count Joseph Metternich of the particulars of my present situation. When I left you and my friends in Vienna, I saw the good people plunged in the deepest sorrow, from the persuasion that I was going as a sacrifice to my new destination. I now feel it an agreeable duty to assure you, that, during three months' residence at this court, I have been, and am, the happiest woman in the world. From the first moment I met and saw the emperor Napoleon, my beloved husband, he has shown me, on every occasion, such respectful attentions, with every token of kindness and sincere friendship, that I should be unjust and ungrateful not to acknowledge his noble behaviour.

"Believe not, my dear count, that this is written by any order of my husband : these sentiments are dictated from my heart ; nor has any one so much as read the letter. The emperor is at this moment by me, but will not look at the contents. He has desired me to send you, in his name, the insignia of the order of the legion of honour. Respecting your wish to visit me at Paris, my husband and I will be very glad to see and receive you in the month of September at the Tuilleries : we shall then have returned from a little tour. You will then be a witness of my satisfaction, which I cannot describe to you in this letter.

"Adieu, my dear and good Count Edling ; remember me to all my beloved family and friends tell them that I am happy, and that I thank God for this felicity. God bless and preserve you ; and believe me that I remain for ever your affectionate

"MARIE.

"*Paris, June 16, 1810.*"

"Let Marie Louise," said Napoleon, "be asked with what tenderness and affection I always treated her. After her forcible separation from me, she avowed, in the most feeling terms, to \*\*\*, her ardent desire to join me in my exile; extolled with many tears both myself and my conduct to her, and bitterly lamented her cruel separation."

Napoleon asserted, that no woman was more astonished than Marie Louise, just after her marriage, when she observed the few precautions taken by him for his own personal safety. When she perceived that there were no sentinels except at the outer gates of the palace; that there were no *lords* sleeping before the doors of the apartments; that the doors were not even locked; and that there were no guns nor pistols in the room where she and the emperor slept—"Why," said she with astonishment, "you do not take half so many precautions as my father, who has nothing to fear."—"I am," said Napoleon, "too much of a fatalist to take any precautions against assassination."

In one of the evening walks, in which the emperor used to indulge while residing at the Briars, shortly after his landing at St. Helena, he told Las Cases that he had in the course of his life been much attached to two women, of very different characters: the one was the votary of art and the graces; the other was all innocence and simple nature; and each, he observed, had a very high degree of merit.

The first, in no moment of her life, ever assumed a position or attitude that was not pleasing or captivating; it was impossible to take her by surprise, or to make her feel the least inconvenience. She employed every resource of art to heighten natural

attractions, but with such ingenuity as to render every trace of allurements imperceptible. The other, on the contrary, never suspected that any thing was to be gained by innocent artifice. The one was always somewhat short of the truth of nature; the other was altogether frank and open, and was a stranger to subterfuge. The first never asked her husband for any thing, but she was in debt to every one; the second freely asked when ever she wanted, which, however, very seldom happened, and she never thought of receiving any thing without immediately paying for it. Both were amiable and gentle in disposition, and strongly attached to their husband. The emperor declared, that he had uniformly experienced from both the greatest equality of temper, and most implicit obedience.

The continual disagreements between Napoleon and the late pope, which commenced in 1805, and occupied nearly five years, originated in the measures adopted by the former for resisting the progress of the Russians and the English in Italy, and especially in the vicinity of the Ecclesiastical States. A correspondence on this subject was kept up during the years 1805 and 1806. The pope perpetually spoke of his jurisdiction, and of his supremacy over terrestrial powers; "because," he said, "heaven is above earth, spirit superior to matter."

The pope, as well as the people of Rome, entertained an opinion that Napoleon was afraid of the thunders of the church! To dissipate this silly idea, he ordered a corps of 6000 men to enter Rome, under pretext of proceeding to Naples. The emperor caused it to be insinuated, that he

would not be impeded in his temporal affairs by any spiritual obstacles. The court of Rome was now thrown into an absolute delirium : monitory letters, prayers, sermons, circular notes to the diplomatic bodies, &c., again protracted discussion till the commencement of 1808. The emperor then informed the pope, that, unless his holiness would adhere to the federative treaty of the powers of Italy within two months, Napoleon would consider Charlemagne's grant as null, and would confiscate the patrimony of St. Peter. No notice could be more explicit, still no regard was paid to it.

In the beginning of 1809, the fourth coalition being declared, the general commanding in Rome requested an increase of troops, and if that could not be granted, he desired that an end might be put to the anarchy of the pontifical government. He received orders to assume the government, incorporate the papal troops in the French army maintain a good police, but to take care that the pope should receive the sums usually paid out of the treasury, for the maintenance of his household. In the mean while, the French troops in the papal territory not being numerous, and the battle of Essling having for a short time rendered the issue of the war in some degree dubious, the populace of Rome were in a high state of agitation. The holy father, shut up in the interior of his palace, caused it to be surrounded with barricades, which were guarded by several hundred armed men with the strictest vigilance. Exasperation between these men and the French soon became mutual. The situation of the pope was dangerous, and every moment a rupture was feared ; and as the French general could not persuade those about the



pope, that his holiness would be much more secure if guarded only by the sanctity of his character, he resolved to act according to the exigencies of the case, and remove him to Florence. This restored tranquillity to Rome ; but, on the pontiff's arrival at Florence, the grand dutchess of Tuscany, being persuaded that he had been sent there without the order of the emperor, caused him to proceed to Turin, where the same motive led the governor-general of Piedmont to compel him to proceed to Grenoble.

The emperor Napoleon, then at Vienna, hearing what had occurred, sent orders that the pope should be treated with all the honours and attention due to his rank. The turn which the contention now took produced the first and second assemblies of the bishops at the council of Paris, the bull of 1811, and finally the concordate of Fontainebleau in 1812. The emperor, no longer willing to be trifled with by absurd arguments in this mixture of spiritual and temporal power, resolved to separate those attributes for ever, and no longer permit the pope to be a temporal sovereign. The *senatus consultum* of the 17th of February, 1810, annexed the states of Rome to the French empire, and thus settled the dispute for that time.

The holy father was at length removed to Fontainebleau, in order to place him in security against any attempt upon his person from sea. Here he had always seven or eight French bishops in his suite, and several cardinals, his medical establishment, his almoner, chaplain, and others. A number of carriages belonging to the court were also at his command ; the guards waited on him for the

pass-word every morning, and the grand marshal, Duroc, superintended the supply of every thing necessary, upon the same footing as the court of the Tuilleries.

The emperor saw the pope but once after the concordate was signed, in company with the empress: they paid him the first visit, which he, according to etiquette, returned immediately.

Napoleon, whilst at St. Helena, speaking of the pope, said he was a good man, but a fanatic.

Another event occurred this year, which, had it been attended with the success expected, might have produced some singular results. The imprisonment of Ferdinand of Spain by Napoleon, at Valencay in France, has already been noticed. Upon the credit of Napoleon we are told, that the British government had laid a plan to liberate Ferdinand VII. similar to the one which had already effected the escape of the Marquis de la Romana from Holstein. The person intrusted with this commission assumed the name of Baron de Kolly. On a sudden this person was seized, and the plan frustrated.

Early in the year 1810, a decree was issued for the re-union to France of all the countries situated upon the left shore of the Rhine, and those on the right shore to the neighbouring departments. By another decree, the islands of Walcheren, South and North Beveland, Schurwen, and Tholen, were created a department of France, called that of the Mouths of the Scheldt. On the 9th of July another decree announced the re-union of Holland to France, and Amsterdam was declared the third city of the empire.

Marshal Bernadotte, the prince of Ponte Corvo, was this year elected by the diet, prince royal, and inheritor of the crown of Sweden.

On the 16th of June, 1811, Napoleon, proceeding from the Tuilleries in great state to the palace of the legislative body, announced to them the circumstance of the birth of his son.

At the close of this year, it is well known that Napoleon, on his return from a tour of observation in the Low Countries, began to form plans for the execution of his designs against Russia, as the emperor Alexander had for some time past begun to deviate from his former adherence to the continental system. British produce, in the meanwhile found its way to the continent through the Russian ports, and thus furnished a similar example to other powers, who had hitherto submitted to the restrictions imposed upon them by the conqueror of the continent.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Military Operations in Russia and Poland—Napoleon's Departure from Paris—Treaty with the Emperor Francis of Austria—Causes that led to the War between Russia and France—Passage of the Niemen—Battles of Ostrovno—Sufferings of the French—Mischief introduced by Marauding—Battle of Smolensk—Battle of Valutina—General Kutusow takes Command of the Russians—Battle of Polotsk—Remarks by General Rapp and Lucien Bonaparte—Military Movements continued—Different Condition of the Russian and French Armies—Battle of Moskwa, or Borodino—The French enter Moscow—Napoleon's Account of the Burning of that City—He solicits Peace, and is rejected—Affair of Winkowo—Battles of Malo Jaroslavitz and Viuzna—Setting in of the cold Weather—Retreat of the French Army—Arrival upon the Banks of the Berezi-na—Battle—Dreadful Passage and Burning of the Bridge—Napoleon at Warsaw—His extravagant Reflections upon his Reverses—His Arrival at Paris—His Answer to the Address of the Senate.*

THE military events of 1812, especially in Russia and Poland, were of an unprecedented nature in the history of warfare.

On the 9th of May, Napoleon set off from Paris, attended by his "right-hand," Berthier, and accompanied as far as Metz by the new empress; from whence the royal pair again set out for Dresden, where a meeting took place with the emperor and empress of Germany, and where these august personages remained some time.

Napoleon, finding his armies well advanced, suddenly quitted his imperial festivities at Dresden and proceeded on the 7th of June to Dantzick, on a tour of military observation; partly in hopes of facilitating a meeting which he was endeavouring to procure with the emperor Alexander, but at

which the ministers of the latter persuaded him not to be seen.

Still anxious to bear down every thing before him with a military force, he had negotiated a treaty with his father-in-law, by which Austria was to furnish 24,000 infantry, 6000 cavalry, and 60 pieces of artillery, whenever he should call on them to act as auxiliaries.

Without entering at any great length into the causes that led to the war between Russia and France in 1812, it may be sufficient to observe, that, till January, 1811, the negative relations of harmony, which had existed since the peace of Tilsit, continued. The cabinet of St. Petersburg had entered into a negotiation with England, Sweden, Austria, and Prussia. For the first time for more than an age, the Swedish nation seemed to have forgotten the reverses of Charles the Twelfth. Napoleon, having put his army in motion, notified to the emperor Alexander, that he was ready to enter into a negotiation upon the points in litigation. He consented to modify the continental system with regard to Russia, and proposed a treaty of commerce, which, without annulling the ukase of December, 1810, should conciliate the interests of both nations. Hitherto facts speak in favour of Napoleon; and, in spite of prejudice, it is impossible not to acknowledge, ~~on~~ this important occasion, a spirit of moderation seldom found among monarchs habituated to victory. On the 30th of April the Russian ambassador, in answer to these proposals, demanded, as preliminary conditions, the complete evacuation of the Prussian estates, and all the strong places in Prussia, as they were at the first period of their occupation by the French troops

the diminution of the garrison of Dantzick, and the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania. Napoleon, supposing the Russian minister had exceeded his instructions, ordered Count Lauriston, his ambassador at Petersburg, to wait upon the emperor Alexander in person at Wilna ; but this sovereign refused to enter into any explanation. Arrived upon the banks of the Niemen, Napoleon sent Count de Narbonne, one of his aids-de-camp, to make a last effort ; but this was attended with as little success as the former. War was finally declared : its real motives originated in the influence that the cabinet of St. James had obtained over that of St. Petersburg, and in the wishes which the latter still indulged, to revenge the humiliation of Russia by the French, in the campaign of 1807.

Napoleon, having repaired to Gumbinnen, quitted it on the 20th of June, when the imperial headquarters were established at Wilkowiszki.

On the 23d of June, 1812, the French army, consisting of three hundred and fifty-five thousand infantry, fifty-nine thousand five hundred cavalry, and nearly twelve hundred pieces of cannon, was in position, and ready to pass the Niemen.

When the French troops arrived on the banks of this river, which, five years before, had been the scene of their victories, they raised shouts of joy. Napoleon, disguised as a chasseur, proceeded to the advanced posts in company with General Haxo, reconnoitred the banks of the river, and gave orders for throwing bridges over it. The pontons were laid at midnight, and at one o'clock the army was on the right bank of the Niemen, and General Fajol took possession of Kowsno without a blow. A few pulks of Cossacks were seen blending with the line

of the horizon, and the French, advancing through Lithuania, arrived at Wilna, where they found its immense magazines in flames, which they extinguished, and saved the greater part of the provisions.

On the 25th of July, General Nansouty, with the divisions under him, came up with the enemy within two leagues of Ostrowno. The battle commenced; the Russian cavalry, a part of which belonged to the guard, was overthrown. The enemy's batteries were carried by the French cavalry; and the Russian infantry, that advanced to support their artillery, was broken and sabred, and the enemy compelled to retire, after sustaining a considerable loss. On the 26th, in the morning, the army continuing to advance, another obstinate combat took place a league beyond Ostrowno, where the French advanced guard engaged with the corps of Osterman, which was beaten at all points, and forced to retreat.

On the 27th, the French, under Prince Eugene and the king of Naples, attacked the enemy's positions, and he was driven across the plain, beyond a small river which enters the Dwina below Witespk. The army took a position on the banks of this river, a league distant from the town.

The enemy displayed in the plain 15,000 cavalry and 60,000 infantry. A battle was expected next day: the Russians boasted that this was their wish. The emperor spent the night in reconnoitring the field, and in making his dispositions for the next day; but at day-break the Russian army was retreating in all directions towards Smolensk.

On the 28th, at day-break, the French entered Witespk. a town of thirty thousand inhabitants, and

containing twenty convents. Some magazines, particularly one of salt, were found here, of considerable value.

Previously to the arrival of the French troops at Wilna, the roads had been broken up; the men were losing themselves in the mud, and already perishing in the bogs and quagmires of Pultusk from hunger and fatigue. Ten thousand horses died in the course of a few days; the soldiers, continually sliding on the clayey ground, were exhausted in fruitless endeavours to proceed. Unable to keep up, many lagged behind, especially the allies. Many, probably, as well as some of the generals, foresaw that the issue of the war would be disastrous. But after leaving Wilna, the French soldiers that could not keep up with their corps visibly increased; they even encumbered the rear.

In consequence of the wretched state of want, to which the country was reduced by the war, the different corps of the French were allowed to make excursions, to provide for themselves from what they could obtain from the inhabitants. The whole army soon after received an order to furnish themselves with provisions for fifteen days. In executing this, it was impossible to avoid great abuses and enormous dilapidations; the emperor's orders were only executed upon paper, and from that which the military commissioners laid before him, he was made to believe that the army was amply provided with subsistence till the 25th of August, and the march to Smolensk was determined upon. However, at this epoch the French army was already reduced to two thirds of the effective force that passed the river Niemen.

The French army was again put in motion on



On the 10th of August, and, having defeated the enemy in several engagements, on the 15th Napoleon had his head-quarters at Korytnia. Lubna was occupied by Marshal Ney. On the 16th, the marshal appeared before Smolensk. The Russians occupied this town to the number of thirty thousand men ; the rest were on the other side of the Dnieper, or Borysthenes, with which they had a communication by three bridges above the town. Every thing was disposed to repel the expected attack, and the emperor Alexander had given positive orders to the Russian general to give the French battle, and, if possible, to save Smolensk.

On the 17th, at two in the afternoon, seeing that the enemy obstinately refused to give battle before the town, and that, in opposition to the orders of their sovereign, Barklay's intention was to defend himself within the walls, Napoleon determined upon an attack. He would not lose his time in waiting for a battle, nor weary the patience of his soldiers, whose ardour was extreme, and who, by their usual cries of *Vive l'empereur*, demanded the signal for battle.

At three o'clock the cannonade commenced all along the line : at half past four this was followed by a brisk fire of musketry, and at five all the suburbs were carried with the utmost coolness and intrepidity, and the Russian troops forced into the covered way. On the left, Marshal Ney attacked the position which the enemy had taken out of the town, seized it, and pursued the fugitives to the glacis.

At six o'clock the communication of the town with the right bank became difficult, and could only be accomplished by isolated men. Three breach

ing batteries of twelve pounders were placed against the walls ; and the enemy was driven from all the towers by howitzers which played upon them. Two companies of miners were attached to the ramparts. The Russian general, seeing the impossibility of holding out longer, and not willing to expose six divisions of his army to the danger of an assault, took the resolution of evacuating the place. At seven o'clock this movement commenced, and one hour after midnight all the Russian divisions were upon the other side of the Dnieper. At two o'clock the grenadiers, who first mounted the walls, no longer found resistance. The place was evacuated ; the victors found there two hundred pieces of cannon. General Korff, who commanded the Russian rear-guard, set fire to several parts of the town, and, when he thought the flames had made sufficient progress, he destroyed the last remaining bridge, and took a position in the suburbs.

The battle of Smolensk cost the Russians upwards of four thousand killed, and seven thousand wounded ; two thousand of the latter, left in Smolensk, were made prisoners. The French had twelve hundred killed, and nearly three thousand wounded.

On the 19th, Korff set fire to the four corners of the lower town, which, being built of wood, was entirely consumed. After this the Russian general retired with his rear-guard.

Having re-established the bridges, the French pursued the enemy, whom they overtook at one o'clock. At Valutina Gora, the Russians, to the number of thirty-six thousand, were attacked, and, after a hard fought battle, were obliged to cor

tinue their retreat. They had eight thousand men killed and wounded, including several generals, and one thousand prisoners. The French did not reckon above three thousand men killed and wounded.

Whilst the Russians retreated upon Borodino, the French continued to advance. Napoleon, having organized at Smolensk the second grand dépôt, directed his army to Dorogobuj, where he arrived with his guard on the 25th. Two engagements of little consequence occurred on the 26th and 27th: the Russians were beaten. Barklay then fell back upon Viazma; but, not judging his position sufficiently strong, he determined upon taking another near Tzarewowa Zolomich. Here Kutusow took the command of the two armies of the west. The Russian general moved to Borodino on the 1st of September, where, as usual, the Russians began intrenchments, which they generally left incomplete.

The operations of the sixth and tenth corps of the French army, under the duke of Reggio, consisted of the combat of Swolna, the battle of Polotsk, the affairs of Grafenthal, Olai, &c. At Swolna the Russians obtained an advantage on the 10th of August; but this did not prevent the duke from remaining in position till the 13th, when, learning that Wittgenstein had received reinforcements, he fell back upon Polotsk, and was joined by the sixth corps under Gouvion St. Cyr. On the 17th, the Russians deployed in the plain, and made several vigorous attacks upon the French but were each time repulsed. The duke of Reggio, badly wounded by a small cannon shot in the shoulder, gave up the command to St. Cyr who

immediately resolved on resuming the offensive. Before night, Wittgenstein, forced at all points, began his retreat upon Bielaia.

The marshal duke of Tarentum, having razed the fortifications at Dunabourg, abandoned that place, and approached with his right wing to Jakobstadt, whilst a Prussian corps occupying Mittau observed Riga. On the 26th of August, General Lewis was beaten near Grafenthal by the Prussian troops, and on the following day was forced to swim over the Dwina. The Russians were not less unfortunate at Sclöck ; and the Prussian troops entered into the positions which they occupied before these useless attempts had been made by General Essen, the governor of Riga.

General Rapp was often called upon for reports respecting the affairs of Russia and the army, and especially as to what course Prussia or Germany would adopt in case of the failure of an expedition to the other side of the Niemen ; when this general candidly assured Napoleon, that, if he should experience reverses, he might be assured the Prussians and Germans would all rise in a mass to throw off the French yoke ; a crusade against France would be set on foot. "All your allies," said he,

will abandon you : even the king of Bavaria, on whom you place so much reliance, would join the coalition. I make an exception only in favour of the king of Saxony ; he, perhaps, would remain faithful to you ; but his subjects would compel him to make common cause with your enemies."

But even from his nearest relatives, Napoleon had received admonitions of a similar kind. His brother Lucien was the most determined opposer of all his ambitious views and plans. One day

while they were warmly disputing, Lucien drew out his watch, and, dashing it violently on the ground, he addressed to his brother Napoleon these remarkable words: "You will destroy yourself, as I have destroyed that watch; and the time will come, when your family and friends will not know where to shelter their heads."

The French army recommenced its march on the 4th of September, and encamped on the same day at the village of Gridnowo. On the following day, at two in the afternoon, they arrived within sight of the Russians.

The emperor, having reconnoitred the enemy's position, immediately ordered the attack. General Compans advanced upon Alexino, which was carried at two in the afternoon. At the same time, Prince Poniatowsky chased the Russians from the wood of Jelnai. During this time the batteries of a redoubt kept up a murderous fire upon the French masses. General Compans cannonaded this redoubt for a short time, and then advanced with great resolution: the battle became obstinate; the redoubt was taken and retaken three times, but at length remained with the French, who purchased this success with the loss of 1000 men. General Compans afterwards threw another Russian division into disorder, and the combat was over about nine at night. The Russians lost some prisoners and seven pieces of cannon.

The whole of the 6th passed in reconnoitring and in making preparations on one side and the other.

The continual marches, the want of subsistence, the distance of the French from their reserves, had

reduced the effective number of Napoleon's army equally low as that of the Russians : both might be estimated at one hundred and thirty thousand each. But, though their numerical force might be nearly equal, there was an enormous difference in their moral dispositions. The Russians, for instance, were within twenty-six leagues of their ancient capital, fighting on their own ground ; they were abundantly supplied with provisions, and, in case of reverse, a certain retreat was open ; new succours awaited them ; they had taken up arms to resist the most odious aggression, and they were going to shed their blood for their country, and all that was dear to them. What motives could be more powerful ? The French, on the other hand, transported five hundred leagues from their country, to accomplish the designs of a single individual, had been for a long time a prey to the most cruel privations. Even if conquerors, the forces they had before them were not the only ones they had to encounter. Surrounded on all sides by the most cruel enemies, or by allies of a doubtful character, their success, after all, could only lead to a disastrous retreat ; but, if conquered, what prospect remained for them but to die in a foreign land, under the torments of famine, or in the anguish of a long slavery ! however, they prepared for the combat without either calculating upon the chances of a defeat or the results of victory.

On the 7th, at three o'clock in the morning, the emperor was surrounded by the marshals in the position taken on the preceding evening. At half past five the sun rose without clouds ; it had rained the preceding evening. "This is the sun of Aus

terlitz!" said the emperor. The army accepted the augury; the drum beat, and the following illusory order of the day was read:

"Soldiers! Behold the field of battle you have so much desired! henceforth victory depends on you; it is necessary to us; it will give us plenty; good winter quarters, and a speedy return. Behave yourselves as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witespk and Smolensk, that the latest posterity may speak of your conduct this day with pride, and may say of each of you, 'He was at that great battle under the walls of Moscow.'"

The army answered with the repeated acclamations of *Vive l'empereur!* At six in the morning, a cannon-shot from a battery on the right gave the signal for battle.

The obstinacy both of the attack and the defence in the conflict which ensued, rendered it one of the most sanguinary description. More than sixty thousand cannon-shots were discharged on each side. The Russians lost sixty pieces of artillery, and upwards of thirty thousand men killed or wounded, including thirty-five generals: two generals were taken, with five thousand prisoners.

On the part of the French, the loss was not less than twenty thousand men killed and wounded. The generals of division, Montbrun and Caulincourt, the generals of brigade, Plauzonne, Huard, Compere, Marion, and Lepel, were killed; and among the wounded generals were Nansouty, Grouchy, Rapp, Compans, Dessaix, Morand, La Houssaye, and others.

Such was the issue of the battle to which Napoleon gave the name of Moskwa, or Mojaïsk, and

the Russians that of Borodino, as this village was the centre of their position.

Kutusow, in the night following the battle, made a precipitate retreat towards Moscow, preceded by a convoy of twenty thousand wounded, and arrived under the walls of that city on the 13th, which he entered on the 14th, and passed through, taking the route to Kolumna. He was followed by Ros topchin and the authorities of the place. The determination to sacrifice Moscow had evidently been adopted a considerable time, though carefully concealed from the greatest number of its unhappy inhabitants. The departure of Kutusow and his army was the signal for the burning of the ancient capital of the czars.

On the 14th, about noon, the king of Naples entered Moscow: arrived near the Kremlin, the French troops were received with a warm fire of musketry from the ramparts: this was given by a handful of the wretched inhabitants, who, in their despair, imagined they could arrest the progress of the French army. The gates of the Kremlin were soon forced, and the feeble defenders of the palace dispersed. Then the king of Naples traversed the city, and passed out of the barrier of Kolumna. The emperor entered on the same day, and was lodged at the Kremlin, around which the imperial guard established itself.

Of the burning of Moscow, Napoleon gave the following account: "We were in hopes of enjoying ourselves in winter-quarters, with every prospect of success in the spring. Two days after our arrival, a fire was discovered, which created very little alarm, as it was supposed to have been caused by the soldiers making their fires too near the houses'



This increased the next day, and on the third day Napoleon went in person to give orders as to the means of stopping its progress. On the fourth day, in the morning, a violent wind caused the flames to spread with the greatest rapidity. Some hundreds of Russians had disposed themselves in different parts of Moscow, and, concealing matches under their cloaks, set fire to as many wooden houses to windward as they could. Every effort to extinguish the fire was now ineffectual. Napoleon, intending to show an example, ventured into the midst of the flames, but had his hair and eye-brows singed, his clothes burnt off his back, and narrowly escaped with his life. He said he was prepared for every thing but this terrible conflagration, which ruined all. Several of the inhabitants perished in their endeavours to stop this calamity, and brought numbers of the incendiaries with their matches before the French, who had about two hundred of them shot. Napoleon owned that he was five days too late in quitting Moscow, and that several of his generals were burnt out of their beds. He himself remained in the Kremlin till it was surrounded by flames. He then retired to a country-house of Alexander's, about a league from Moscow, where the heat was so intense, that persons could scarcely bear their hands upon the walls and windows on the side next Moscow. "It was," he said, "the spectacle of a sea and billows of fire, a sky and clouds of flame; mountains of red rolling flames, like immense waves of the sea, alternately bursting forth and elevating themselves to skies of fire, and then sinking into the ocean of flame below. Oh, it was the most grand, the most sublime, the most terrific sight the world ever beheld!"

To the premature cold, and the burning of Moscow, Napoleon attributed his failure in Russia.

Napoleon indulged the hope that Russia, discouraged by the loss of its ancient capital, and the successive defeats she had sustained, would not now refuse to enter into negotiations to establish the bases of a solid and durable peace. The emperor made choice of General Lauriston, his late ambassador to the court of Petersburg, to be the bearer of such as he deemed moderate propositions, considering the critical circumstances in which Russia was placed. General Lauriston arrived at Kutusow's head-quarters. A suspension of arms was agreed to, which would require three hours' notice previous to the recommencement of hostilities. Alexander's known generosity and humanity would probably have at once decided upon putting a stop to the effusion of blood; but he yielded to the predominant sense of his own people and the counsels of his allies, which were in favour of prosecuting the war.

Here we must necessarily pass over the operations under Marshal Macdonald in Eastern Prussia, and those of other corps in Lithuania, upon the Bug; those of the prince of Schwartzenberg, &c. in which Napoleon was not personally concerned.

The suspension of arms continued till the 17th of October, when several corps of the Russian army approached the advanced posts of the king of Naples, and took a position on the banks of the Nara. Bennigsen, who commanded them, passed the river at midnight, and advanced in three columns upon the high road to Moscow. In the battle of Winkowo, that followed, both sides fought with the

greatest fury : the French lost more than two thousand men.

The French army, now reduced to less than half of its original number, did not reckon more than a hundred thousand men in its ranks, who were diminishing every day through sickness and want. The most numerous regiments of cavalry had not more than a hundred horses, and the audacity of the Cossacks hourly increased. Napoleon was therefore induced to quit Moscow, for the purpose of seeking a more advantageous position in a country from whence some resources might probably be drawn.

The battle of Malo Jaroslawitz was fought on the 24th and 25th of October, and was ranked among the most brilliant exploits of the campaign. The Russians had between eight and ten thousand men killed and wounded, and the French lost four thousand. In the battle of Viazma, that followed soon after, the French lost four thousand men.

When the French army had reached Dorogubuj, the cold began to set in ; the ground was covered with a deep snow ; ditches, roads, and fields soon disappeared, and the soldier had no other track to follow than the heaps, formed in the snow, of the innumerable bodies of those who had preceded him. Those who had thrown away the arms which their frozen members would not permit them to carry, wandered they knew not whither ; they frequently expired with cold and misery in sight of their comrades, who never approached them but to seize upon any thing they had about them. The fate of those who had retained their arms was not less severe : they were compelled to be continually on the alert to repulse the clouds of Cossacks that

hovered about them, and who, though dispersed by the firing of a few muskets, would return the moment after.

Napoleon acknowledged, that, on his retreat from Moscow, the thermometer fell eighteen degrees. In one night the French lost thirty thousand horses; neither ammunition nor provisions could be carried, and the artillery, amounting to about five hundred pieces, was nearly abandoned. The soldiers, he said, lost their spirits and their senses, and fell into confusion. Four or five Russians were sufficient to terrify a whole battalion. Parties sent out on duty in advance, instead of keeping together, wandered about in search of fire, or got into the houses to warm themselves, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Others lay down, fell asleep; a little blood came from their nostrils, and they died.

But, notwithstanding the unheard-of distresses that continually weighed upon the French army they still continued to consider Napoleon as the *palladium* that was to save them. His presence frequently electrified the most dejected; the sight of their sovereign marching with them on foot, and cheerfully partaking of all their privations, seldom failed to excite a momentary enthusiasm similar to that of the days of victory.

The retreat of the French army may be said to have been begun on the 19th, for on the 23d Napoleon himself was at Borosk, by what he called a flank movement.

To follow Napoleon and the various divisions of his army, step by step throughout the whole of their manifold sufferings, would fill a volume; suffice it to state, that early in November the viceroy Beau

harrois, with his division, was driven upon Smolensk. About the 9th of November, Napoleon himself arrived at Smolensk, where he fixed his head-quarters, but could not muster more than sixty thousand men, though he left Moscow with eighty thousand at least. On the 13th he continued his retreat.

The rapidity of Napoleon's flight enabled him to reach Orcha in sufficient time to allow of his halting till the 20th, whilst some of the divisions of his army were concentrating upon his line of retreat.

Napoleon arrived at the river Berezina with his army in two distinct bodies, but found all the bridges broken down. Whilst the French were endeavouring to construct a temporary bridge for the occasion, the Russian General Wittgenstein had ordered Platoff to push forward towards Bernsoff, whilst he himself, about the 26th, advanced towards Vesselovo and Studentze, where Napoleon was erecting two bridges. Studentze was first attacked and carried, and the whole of the French troops made prisoners. When it was ascertained that Napoleon was not there, Platoff was sent across the river to join Tchitchagoff, whilst Wittgenstein proceeded towards Vesselovo. But the moment that Napoleon's bridge in this quarter was passable, he ordered over a sufficient number of his guards to ensure his safety, and then passing it with his principal officers, he was followed by a promiscuous crowd of soldiers, who succeeded in such numbers, that the way was soon choked up so completely as to preclude all order or progress. In this situation, the Russians arrived; when hundreds of the French threw themselves into the river, and the whole scene became that of the most tumultuous horror. Besides, as orders were given

to set fire to the bridge, great numbers fell a sacrifice to this dreadful manœuvre. It undoubtedly ensured Napoleon's personal escape, but it threw the whole of the army on the other side into the hands of the Russians.

All these misfortunes were followed by the known retreat of the Austrian prince Schwartzberg, the treason of the Prussian general D'Yorck, and the defection of General Meissenbach, whilst the duke of Tarentum, with the wretched remains of one of the French corps in a most distressed condition, shut themselves up in Dantzick, which was soon after strictly blockaded by the Russians.

On the 5th of December, the head-quarters were at Smorgoni: in this village, after the emperor had called a council, consisting of the king of Naples, the viceroy, and the principal generals, he determined to return to France to create new resources. The king of Naples, nominated his lieutenant-general, took the command of the army. All the generals agreed in the propriety of the emperor's immediate return to France.

The French army had not been collected at Wilna twelve hours before the enemy's cannon was heard. As soon as the Russian corps had formed, they attacked General Loison's corps, who, notwithstanding, succeeded in covering the march of a column of the fifth corps, consisting of Poles, unarmed men, and stragglers. About three in the morning, the last of the French that could move left Wilna. At five, after a most painful march, they reached the mountain of Vaka, scarcely a league from Wilna, which being covered with ice, rendered it impossible for the carriages to pass, by preventing the horses from obtaining any foot-hold

As this eminence could not be turned, it was found necessary to abandon the baggage, and the imperial treasure, containing upwards of five millions in gold and silver.

However afflicting the following details may be, we cannot consistently dispense with retracing the picture at this time presented by the greatest part of the French army before and after its arrival upon the Berezina. Generals, officers, and soldiers, were all in the same condition, confounded one with another. Cavalry, infantry, and artillery, mixed together, and got on as well as they could. Most of them carried on their shoulders a bag of meal, whilst a pot hung from their sides, attached to a cord. Others proceeded, holding the bridles of their starved horses, carrying their kitchen materials, and sometimes the remains of their wretched provision. The horses themselves were the best provisions this army had; for when they fell down quite exhausted, they became food for their masters, who seldom suffered the breath to go out of the body before they tore the flesh from them with the utmost greediness. As almost every corps in the army was in a state of dissolution, a number of little bodies were formed out of the wrecks of the regiments, consisting of eight or ten individuals, who agreed to march together, and amongst whom what they had was shared in common. Some of these had a horse among them to carry their baggage or cooking utensils, besides which every member had his wallet. The little communities, entirely separated from the mass, were unanimous in repulsing any unhappy individual who might wish to join them. Each of these companies marched as closely as possible, and they took the

greatest care not to be separated from each other. Wo to any one who had lost his party! No one would take the least interest in his case, or show him any favour; on the contrary, such persons were ill-treated, or driven away even from the fires lighted on the route, or any other place of refuge and, in fact, never ceased to be objects of persecution till they found their own party, or perished for want. Let the reader, if possible, figure to himself sixty thousand of these unfortunate beings, each with his wallet on his shoulders, walking with sticks to support them; their bodies covered with rags of all colours, swarming with vermin, and delivered up to all the horrors of famine. Let us figure to ourselves these pale beings, or rather spectres, covered with dirt, and blackened by the smoke of the *bivouacks*, or night fires, with long beards, hollow eyes, and dishevelled hair, and, after all, we shall have only a faint picture of this wretched army.

Here were some, quite undermined by the long duration of their diseases and by famine, sunk under the weight of their misfortunes; there were others attacking a miserable straggler, who was supposed to have some provision about him, in spite of his resistance or horrid imprecations. On one side might be heard the noise made by the horses and carriages crushing the bones of bodies whose flesh had been stripped before: on the other, the cries and groans of those victims, whose strength having quite failed, they had lain down and given themselves up to death. Farther on, groups might be seen collected round a dead horse, and fighting for the remnants into which it had been cut; whilst others, thrusting their hands into the carcass, tore



out the heart and entrails. Even night-fall only brought with it a temporary and precarious interval of sleep, from which it was the fortune of many never more to awaken.

At night, it was the care of every one, however exhausted, to find some kind of lodging, at least a shelter from the weather, and the keen biting of the north-east wind. Of course houses, barns, sheds, &c., were soon filled in such a manner that it was with difficulty that any one could enter in or out. Such as could gain no admittance into these places took up their abode behind walls, or any sort of shelter. The first duty was to procure wood and straw for their bivouacks; for this purpose they scaled the houses, carrying away the roofs, and, if these were not sufficient, the joists and the girders, the partitions, or the house altogether, in spite of those who might attempt to resist this violence; and if the first possessor maintained his ground, it was at the hazard of being burnt to death.

It was impossible to get water, as both ponds and marshes were continually frozen; and to make their *bouilllé*, they used to melt a sufficient quantity of snow in a pot, and dilute it as well as they could, but, after all, it was black and muddy. When it was thickened with such meal as they had, as salt could not be obtained, in the room of this they threw in two or three cartridges, which at least gave the mess some kind of taste, though it increased the colour to a deep black. The repast upon this and the broiled slices of horse-flesh being finished, each guest placed himself round the fire, and sought in sleep for some mitigation of his misery.

When Napoleon arrived at Warsaw, on the 10th of December, instead of proceeding to the pa'ace

he put up at the hotel d'Angleterre, from whence M. Caulincourt was despatched to summon the appearance of the Abbé de Pradt, the ambassador to Poland.

"I hurried out," says De Pradt, "and arrived at the hotel about half past one o'clock. A few Polish *gens d'armes* guarded the gate; the master of the hotel examined me, hesitated a little, and then allowed me to pass. I saw a small carriage body placed on a sledge made of four pieces of fir it had stood some crashes, and was much damaged. Two open sledges there had served for the conveyance of General Lefebvre Desnouettes, another officer, the Mameluke Roustan, and a valet. This was all that remained of so much grandeur and magnificence. I thought I beheld the winding-sheet carried before the great Saladin. The door of a room on the ground-floor was mysteriously opened. A short parley took place: the duke of Vicenza came, introduced me to the emperor, and left me with him. He was in a cold, small, lower apartment, and had the window-shutters half closed, the better to conceal his *incognito*. An awkward Polish servant continued blowing a fire of green wood, which, resisting her efforts, diffused far more water over the stove than heat in the apartment. The emperor, according to his custom, was walking about, wrapped up in a superb pelisse, lined with green, and with magnificent gold brandenburghs. He had on a kind of fur cap, and his boots were also surrounded with fur. 'Ah, monsieur the ambassador,' said he, smiling—I approached, and addressed him thus: 'You look well: you have made me very uneasy; but at length you are here: I am happy to see you.'—'How are you off in this

country?" said he. I described to him the actual state of the duchy, spoke to him of the distress of the Poles. He asked with vivacity, 'Who has ruined them?' I replied, 'What has been doing for these six years: the scarcity of last year, and the continental system, deprive them of all commerce.' At these words his eyes were lighted up. He proceeded—'Where are the Russians?' I told him—'And the Austrians?'—'I have not heard of them for a fortnight.'—'General Reynier?'—'Nor of him neither.'—I spoke to him of the Polish army. 'I have seen none of them,' said he, 'during the campaign.'—I explained the reason of that, and why the dispersion of the Polish forces had at last rendered an army of eighty-two thousand men invisible. He said, 'We must raise ten thousand Cossacks: a lance and a horse are sufficient for them—with that force the Russians may be stopped.'

"We met again at the hotel d'Angleterre at three o'clock; he had just risen from table.—'How long have I been in Warsaw?—Eight days—No, only two hours;' said he, smiling, without any preamble or preparation—'*from the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a step.*' In the course of this conversation he said, 'Agitation is life to me: the more trouble I have the better I am. None but sluggard kings fatten in their palaces. Horseback and camps for me.—You are very much alarmed here.'—'It is because we only know what public rumour informs us.'—'Bah! the army is superb. I have 120,000 men: I always beat the Russians. I am going to raise three hundred thousand men. Success will render the Russians rash. I shall give them three or four battles or

the Oder, and in six months I shall be again on the Niemen. All that has happened is nothing; it is a misfortune; it is the effect of climate. The enemy is good for nothing: I beat him every where. They wished to cut me off at the Berezina—I laughed at that fool of an admiral Tchitzchagoff.”

From Warsaw Napoleon took his route to Dresden, and then, travelling rapidly by way of Leipsig and Mentz, arrived at Paris about the 18th of December, which city he chose to enter about midnight.

On the 20th, being seated on his throne, he received an address from the senate, equally as adulatory as if he had terminated a successful campaign. His answer seemed to allude to a plan which had taken place at Paris in the month of October, the object of which was to bring about a revolution, but failed through the folly or treachery of those concerned. He was well acquainted with the discontent that prevailed: however, he ventured to close the memorable year of 1812 with public declarations to France and to the world, that he was determined to persist in his plans for the completion of the continental system, and that his hopes and presages of the ensuing year were founded upon principles as unshaken as his own dynasty. However, what had been foreseen by almost every person of discernment except Napoleon, soon followed, viz. an alliance against France between Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Thus a new political vortex was created, into which all the lesser princes on the continent were inevitably drawn, with the exception of the king of Saxony, who ultimately paid dearly for his unfortunate attachment to the fallen hero of the age.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Proclamation of Louis XVIII.—Assembly of the French Legislature—The Tugendbund, or German League of Virtue—Marie Louise constituted Regent of France—Departure of Napoleon for the Army—Opening of the Campaign in Saxony—Death of Marshal Bessières—Battles of Lützen, Wurtzen, Bautzen, Reichenbach—Death of Marshal Duroc, &c.—Armistice—Desertion of the French General Jomini—Battle of Dresden—Death of General Moreau—Recommencement of Hostilities—Affair of the Katzbach; of Waschau—Battle of Leipsig—Blowing up of the Bridge over the Elster—Prince Poniatowsky, &c. drowned—Retreat of the French—Battle of Hanau—The French repass the Rhine—The Allies enter France—Language of Napoleon in the Senate.*

NAPOLEON having good reason to apprehend that the friends of the exiled royal family entertained some hopes of their restoration, his fears were much increased by a proclamation of Louis XVIII., issued from his residence in England on the 1st of February, 1813. To guard against the effects of this proclamation, which had made a great impression, Napoleon ordered a grand assembly of the legislature on the 14th of February when he made a most pompous display of his imperial greatness, and again told them that England was disturbing his conquests and the peace of the continent. Among other matters, they were informed, that as long as the maritime war lasted, so long must his people make all kinds of sacrifices.

Affairs soon began to press upon Napoleon; all Germany, united by the *Tugendbund*, or League of Virtue, was now in motion. The crown prince of Sweden was daily expected in Pomerania, where he was to act against the French; and Austria, is

arms, was ready to adopt a decided part, which Napoleon had much reason to believe would not be in his favour; so that nothing remained for him but immediate action.

On the 15th of April, he left Paris, having previously constituted Marie Louise empress regent of France. On the 16th, he passed through Metz, where he remained organizing his forces till the evening of the 24th, and put himself upon the road for the armies on the Saale; he travelled with his usual rapidity, and on the 27th was at the head of his forces at Naumburg on that river.

Several affairs of minor importance preceded the celebrated battle of Lutzen; the former occurred at Wettin, Halle, Mersburg Weissenfels, and other places in the neighbourhood of the Elbe. In passing the defile of Poserna on the 1st of May, the action on both sides cost but a few men; but the French had to regret the loss of Marshal Bessieres who, reconnoitring the plain near the village of Rippach, had his wrist cut off by a bullet, which entering his breast, he fell dead.

In the battle of Lutzen, fought on the 2d of May, eighty-four thousand infantry beat one hundred and seven thousand Russians or Prussians with more than twenty thousand cavalry. Alexander and the king of Prussia witnessed the conflict in person. The allies lost eighteen thousand men. The loss of the French was twelve thousand, and their want of cavalry prevented them from reaping the usual fruits of their conquests.

On the evening of the battle, Napoleon said to the generals that were about him, "During seventeen years that I have commanded the French armies, I have never witnessed more bravery or

deration." And yet the veterans of Austerlitz, of Jena, Friedland, Wagram, &c. had almost all disappeared from the ranks, and the honour of those eagles, so long victorious, had been committed to young conscripts, who had scarcely learned their exercise, and were by no means habituated to the fatigues of war.

On the 9th, Napoleon entered Dresden as a conqueror, conducting back to his capital the king of Saxony.

On the 21st and 22d, Napoleon again triumphed at Wurtchen and Bautzen. The allies had chosen that ground, which the brilliant campaigns of Frederick the Great had rendered classic.

In the battle of Reichenbach, on the 22d of May, General Bruyeres, an officer of cavalry highly distinguished, had both his legs carried off by a cannon-shot. About the end of the action, Marshal Duroc was also struck by a cannon-ball, and he did not survive more than twelve hours. During the march from Reichenbach to Gorlitz, Napoleon stopped at Makersdorf, and showed the king of Naples where Duroc fell. He summoned to his presence the proprietor of the little farm on which the grand marshal died, and made over to him the sum of 20,000 francs ; 4000 of which were for a monument in honour of the deceased, and 16,000 for the proprietor of the house and his wife.

On the 4th of June, the armistice of Pleissvitz was entered into. It was maintained for nearly three months, and proved advantageous only to the allies. Austria, requiring delay, obtained it the Russians, who were waiting for re-enforcements, received them ; the Prussians doubled their numbers ; the English subsidies arrived, and the

Swedish army joined the allies. The defection of the cabinets of the Rhenish confederation, and the corruption of the allied officers, were successfully effected. Treason also began to creep into the superior ranks. General Jomini, the chief of the staff of one of the French corps, went over to the enemy with all the information he had been able to collect respecting the plans of the campaign.

The hostile powers again presented themselves on the field of battle. The French had now a force of 300,000 men, of which 40,000 men were cavalry, on the left bank of the Elbe; and the allies had 500,000, of which 100,000 were cavalry, which then threatened Dresden from three different directions, from Berlin, Silesia, and Bohemia. This prodigious disproportion had no effect on Napoleon; he concentrated his forces, and boldly assumed the offensive.

The emperor, who had already made a rapid movement against Blücher, was suddenly called away for the defence of Dresden, where 65,000 French troops found themselves opposed to 180,000 of the allied forces. Prince Schwartzberg, the general in chief, had, on the 26th of August, made a faint attack upon Dresden, being urged to take this step by the deserter Jomini, who so well understood the real state of things. Napoleon came up, with his usual rapidity, with 100,000 French troops. The affair was not long doubtful, and the enemy was overwhelmed: he lost 40,000 men, and was for some time threatened with total destruction. The emperor Alexander was present at the battle. Napoleon observing at the distance of about 500 yards a group of persons on horseback, and being resolved to disturb them, he ordered a captain of



artillery to throw a dozen of bullets amongst them at once. One of these balls struck Moreau, who had then joined the Russians, carried off both his legs, and went through his horse. A moment before Alexander had been speaking to him. It was not a little singular, that in an action a short time after, Napoleon ordered the same artillery officer to throw eighteen or twenty bullets at once into a concourse of officers collected together, by which General St. Priest, another royalist, a Frenchman, and a man of talent, who had a command in the Russian army, was killed, along with many others. Moreau survived his misfortune but a few hours.

The happy chance so anxiously looked for by Napoleon, which was expected to re-establish his affairs, procure peace, and to save France, had at length arrived. Accordingly, on the ensuing day, Austria despatched an agent to the emperor, with amicable propositions. But, such is the uncertainty of human destiny, from that moment, by an unexampled fatality, Napoleon had to encounter a chain of disasters. At every point, except that at which he was himself present, the French sustained reverses.

A retrospective view of this important campaign will show, that many unfair advantages had been taken by the allies. The armistice concluded on the 4th of June, and prolonged till the 10th of August, was on that day declared at an end by the ministers of the allied powers. At the same time the emperor of Austria's declaration of war against Napoleon appeared. Hostilities were not, according to the convention, to have commenced till the 16th of August; but the allies, under the pretext of some improper conduct towards Lutzow, a chief

of the partisans in the environs of Leipsig, did not wait for the expiration of this period. Their troops were put in motion on the 14th, and Breslau, the capital of Silesia, was occupied by General Sacken. On the following day, Blucher invaded the territory declared neuter, and established his head-quarters at Jauer. His design was to attack the French positions upon the Katzbach; but these were abandoned in the night between the 17th and 18th. On the evening of this day, a regiment of Westphalian hussars went over to the enemy, and thus gave the signal to the rest of the German troops, upon whom the *Tugenbund* had begun to exercise its influence. Three days' fighting, on the 21st, 22d, and 23d of August, cost the enemy about seven thousand killed, wounded and prisoners; the French lost more than five thousand.

The battle of Katzbach took place on the 26th, in which Marshal Macdonald lost about 10,000 men killed and wounded, with 15,000 prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon. Blucher and his army passed the Katzbach on the 28th of August; on the first of September he traversed the Bober; and on the second he was at Lauban. The victory of Katzbach procured for this brave general the title of prince. The conduct of Marshal Macdonald, in hazarding a battle in the most unfavourable situation, a kind of *cul de sac*, was severely condemned. The battle of Dresden, that followed, and that of Kulm, in which Vandamme was totally defeated, strongly tended to hasten the catastrophe that awaited all Napoleon's plans. The affair of Kulm cost the French more than 10,000 men, besides a number of prisoners, including Vandamme, the

generals Haxo and Guyot, and thirty pieces of cannon.

In the neighbourhood of Berlin, the same ill success attended the French as had taken place in Silesia and in Saxony: the affairs of Gros Beeren and Lubnitz, though to the disadvantage of the French, were not so sanguinary as some of the preceding.

The conduct of the duke of Reggio, who had been sent against the prince royal of Sweden, having destroyed all Napoleon's hopes, he was removed, and the command given to the prince of the Moskwa, who, being ordered to move forward immediately, arrived at his new post on the 4th of September. In the battle of Juterbok, that took place on the 6th, two Saxon divisions went over to the enemy. The loss of the French, on this occasion, was 10,000 killed, wounded, or prisoners, with twenty pieces of cannon, and several caissons. On the 26th, another Saxon battalion, with its arms and baggage, deserted to the enemy near Rosslau, from which place, and at Acken, the prince royal of Sweden threw bridges over the Elbe. On the 14th of October, Napoleon learned that Bavaria had declared war against him; the Danes had also been compelled to join the allies.

Previous to the 16th of October, the French army assembled in the environs of Leipsig consisted of 134,000 infantry and 22,000 cavalry. The troops of the allies, divided into four armies, presented a total of 349,000 combatants, including 54,000 cavalry.

The battle of Wachau, fought on the 16th, was claimed by both parties. The allies pleaded, that

they were outnumbered by the French ; but the fact is, the French had no more than 50,000 men engaged in the plain, whilst the allies had 75,000.

The battle of Leipsig took place on the 18th of October. This sanguinary and hard-fought conflict was distinguished by another desertion of the Saxon artillery over to the enemy, and by the introduction of the Congreve rockets, which were sent into the field by the prince royal of Sweden ; but all the exertions of Napoleon and his faithful generals ended in a retreat, partly occasioned by a want of ammunition ; as, in the course of five days, they had fired more than 250,000 shots, and had not sufficient to have continued the fire two hours longer. As the nearest reserves were at Magdeburg and at Erfurt, the emperor determined to march for the latter. In the evening of the 18th, the parks of artillery defiled through Lindenau towards Lutzen. At day-light the third and fifth corps, that of the duke of Castiglione, and the five corps of cavalry, had repassed the Elster ; but the execution of this retreating movement was attended with great difficulties. The defile, two leagues in extent, from Leipsig to Lindenau, is traversed by five or six bridges. It had been proposed to Napoleon to place 6000 men and sixty pieces of cannon upon the ramparts of Leipsig, and to occupy this town as the head of the defile, and to burn the suburbs, for the purpose of preventing the enemy from receiving shelter, as well as to give a scope to the French artillery. But Napoleon would not consent to the destruction of one of the finest cities in Saxony, though it might have saved more than 15,000 of the French army, and a numerousartil-

lery. On the 19th, at day-break, the enemy's generals, having learned that the French were retreating, put their masses in motion, and the whole of the combined army marched towards Leipsig. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia having rejoined the army, a deputation was sent from the place, begging them to spare the inhabitants. This demand was rejected; and a flag of truce from the duke of Tarentum did not succeed any better. Before the action commenced, Blucher made a ridiculous proposal to the French army to lay down their arms. About eight o'clock the coalized columns were before the suburbs, and General Sacken attacked the front of that called Halle, which failing, the corps of Langeron advanced to support it, and was also repulsed. The regiment of Archangel was almost destroyed. At length, about ten o'clock, several of the suburbs having been forced, Napoleon mounted his horse, and went to take leave of the king of Saxony; but, before he could get out of the place, he was obliged to proceed along the boulevards on the west for considerable time, before he could gain the heights of Lutzen. At this instant the gates of Halle and Grimma were forced, and that of St. Peter delivered up to the Austrians by the troops of Baden; whilst, from the ramparts and the tops of the houses, the Saxon troops in the town began to fire upon the French, who only yielded inch by inch. In the meanwhile, the tirailleurs of the corps of Langeron having slipped along the Elster, as far as the bridge by which the French army was defiling, a corporal belonging to the engineers, thinking that the time was come for blowing up the bridge, immediately set a light to the train by which act

the retreat of all the troops upon the boulevards and the fauxbourgs was cut off. Despair immediately seized those unfortunate warriors : the bravest only thought of selling their lives as dearly as possible, and burying themselves under the ruins of the place. Others endeavoured to swim across the Pleisse and the Elster. The duke of Tarentum forded it. Marshal Prince Poniatowsky, already wounded, drowned himself in the latter, as did also General Dumoutier. Prince Poniatowsky had previously forded the Pleisse, leaving his horse behind him ; but, arriving upon the Elster, which was already lined by Saxon and Prussian riflemen, he plunged into the river, and instantly sunk, together with his horse.

Towards ten o'clock the battle was over at Leipsig. The loss of the French, from the 16th to the 19th of October, amounted to twenty thousand killed, and thirty thousand prisoners, including about twenty-two thousand sick and wounded, incapable of being moved out of the hospitals of Leipsig. A hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and more than five hundred carriages, fell into the hands of the enemy. Among the prisoners, the allies included the king of Saxony.

On the 20th, the remains of the French army had arrived at Weissenfels, on its way to Erfurt : during its march to this place, all the troops of the confederation of the Rhine that were left deserted.

At Schluchtern, where the French army arrived on the 28th, Napoleon first received positive intelligence of the movements of the Austro-Bavarian army under General Wrede, which led to the battle of Hanau. On the morning of the 30th, the emperor arrived within a league of the town, at the

head of the whole imperial guard, and large bodies of tirailleurs, amounting altogether, it is said, to a force of about sixty thousand men, twelve thousand being cavalry ; although the bulletin of the grand army speaks of this important force as follows : " We have only had actually engaged 5000 tirailleurs, four battalions of the old guard, and about 80 squadrons of cavalry, with 120 pieces of cannon ! "

Napoleon took up an admirable position in the skirts of the Lamboy forest. The battle commenced at ten in the morning, and raged with various success during the day—the tide of victory rolling backwards and forwards from the town to the forest, and from the forest to the town, as the French drove back the Germans into the very suburbs, and entered in pursuit of them, burning and laying waste the streets ; or as the Germans again forced back their enemies into the shelter of the thick forest. Napoleon bivouacked with his suite in the forest during the night of the 30th.

On the 2d of November, the emperor quitted Frankfort ; and on the same day, the whole of the French army repassed the Rhine.

The Austro-Bavarians were at Frankfort on the 4th, and Napoleon arrived at Paris on the 9th of November.

Whilst these movements took place, the grand army, combined with that of Silesia, continued to advance towards the Rhine. The emperor Alexander entered Frankfort on the 5th of December, at the head of twenty thousand horse. On the same day, Prince Schwartzenberg forced the passage of the Nidda, and arrived within two leagues of Mentz, and fixed his head-quarters at Höchst

Blucher's were at Giessen. Hocheim and Horn were taken on the 9th.

After these movements, the coalized sovereigns resolved to suspend their operations upon the Upper Rhine, in order to pursue their invasion of France. In the course of November, the allies were masters of all the dutchy of Berg; and the army of the north occupied Hanover, where the prince royal of Sweden had his head-quarters. Winzingerode occupied Oldenburg and East Friesland; and Bulow was proceeding to Holland, to organize the insurrection that soon followed, after both shores of the Elbe had been cleared of the enemy. Dresden was surrendered by General Gouvion St. Cyr in the course of November; and the capitulation of Stettin, Torgau, Zamosc, and Modlin, increased the courage of the enemy, and added to the depression of the French. Dantzick, so bravely defended by General Rapp and his troops during a siege and blockade of many months, capitulated on the 4th of December, with the duke of Wirtemberg.

Thus, at the end of the campaign, the French had not a single garrison beyond the Rhine, excepting at Hamburgh, Magdeburg, Custrin, Wittenberg, Glogau, and the citadels of Wurtzburg and Erfurt.

Affairs in Spain and Italy, this year, were equally as disastrous as they had been where Napoleon was present. The results of Lord Wellington's victories were the driving of the whole French army, beaten and dispirited, within their intrenchments close under the guns of Bayonne.

Napoleon stated in an address to the French legislative body, that brilliant victories had crowned



the French arms during this campaign, but defections without example had rendered these victories nugatory. Negotiations, he said, had commenced with the combined powers. He had agreed to the preliminary bases they had offered. He had hopes, that, before the present assembly had met, a congress at Manheim would have been convened; but new delays, which were not attributable to France, had occurred.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Napoleon's Address to the National Guard—Departure for the Army—Strength of the French Forces and those of the Allies—Battle of Brienne—Affair of La Rothiere—Retreat of Napoleon to Sezanne—Battle of Champ Aubert—Montmirail—Montereau—Affairs of Chateau-Thierry and Vauchamps—Unsuccessful Attacks on Laon—Murat declares for the Allies—Congress at Chatillon—Restoration of the Pope's Territory—Gallant Defence of Soissons—Battle of Fere Champenoise—Entrance of the Allies into Paris—Abdication of Napoleon—His Departure from Fontainebleau, and Arrival at Frejus—Embarkation, and Reception in the Isle of Elba—Anecdotes.*

ON the 23d of January, 1814, the officers of the national guard at Paris, in number eight hundred, were presented to the emperor in the saloon of marshals, on which occasion, when his majesty passed on his way to mass, and, on his return, he was saluted with the unanimous cries of *Vive l'empereur!* The officers divided into legions, and formed a vast circle, in the midst of which the emperor placed himself. Then appeared a scene the most affecting, the most sublime. The emperor told them that a part of the French territory was invaded; that he was going to place himself at the head of his army, and that he hoped, with the assistance of God, and the valour of his troops, to repulse the enemy beyond the frontiers. At this moment his looks were tenderly fixed upon the empress and the king of Rome, whom his august mother carried in her arms; and his majesty added, in a tremulous voice, that he confided his wife and his son to the love of his faithful city of Paris. At that instant a thousand voices resounded a thou

and arms were raised, swearing to defend the precious trust confided to a faithful people.

Napoleon left Paris on the 25th of January, and arrived at Chalons on the following day. His army at this period, far from presenting a specimen of those numerous and formidable masses with which France had so often overawed the sovereigns of Europe, consisted of only five corps, almost disorganized, and scarcely amounting to sixty thousand men. It was with these feeble forces that the conqueror of Arcole, Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, undertook to struggle, often with success, and never without glory, against three armies, consisting of three hundred thousand fighting men.

The communication between the armies of Blucher and Prince Schwartzenberg had not been yet completed. Napoleon wished to avail himself of this circumstance to combat them singly. A despatch sent to the duke of Trevisa to effect his junction with Napoleon, was taken by Blucher, by which he was timely warned of the danger he was exposed to. Previous to the battle of Brienne, fought on the 29th of January, the march of the French infantry had been retarded, and the men considerably fatigued by the bad weather and the heaviness of the roads. The sanguinary action that followed, fought almost from house to house, commenced about noon, and continued till half after eleven at night, when Blucher ordered the corps of General Sacken, together with the cavalry of General Pahlen, to retire in silence upon the route of Bar-sur-Aube, till, wearied with fatigue, both parties ceased firing. The French remained in possession of the castle of Brienne, and the light troops retained the greatest part of the town

Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Perthes. It is remarkable, that both Blucher and Napoleon were nearly made prisoners during the battle of Brienne, the former when the French first obtained possession of the castle. About three o'clock on the same day, as Napoleon was coming out of the wood of Valantigny with a very small escort, he was assailed by the Cossacks, one of whom aimed a thrust at him with his lance, but was prevented in his design by General Gorgaud, who killed the offender. The emperor would nevertheless have been made prisoner, if Meunier's division had not come to his assistance.

On the 1st of February, the French at La Rothiere being attacked at three points, their right and left resisted nobly, but their centre was broken, whilst a secondary attack, made by General Wrede upon the duke of Ragusa, obliged him to retire with loss. The French, on this unfortunate day, lost fifty-four pieces of cannon, and six thousand men, including two thousand four hundred prisoners.

Added to this afflicting state of affairs, the news was received of the defection of Murat, the king of Naples.

Napoleon, having reunited his army at Sezanne on the 10th, this movement was soon followed by the battle of Champ Aubert; the result of which was the taking of twenty-one pieces of cannon, the Russian general Alsusiew, two generals under his orders, forty-seven officers, and eighteen hundred prisoners; twelve hundred Russians had been killed, and scarcely fifteen hundred escaped. Among the French killed was General Lagrange.

The emperor slept that night at Champ Aubert.

and the battle of Montmirail was fought the next day: the French were again victorious; they took six standards, twenty-six pieces of cannon, two hundred carriages, with baggage and ammunition, and upwards of seven hundred prisoners. The army bivouacked upon the field of battle, whilst the allies were in full retreat to Chateau-Thierry, where, in the battle that followed, Napoleon did not lose above four hundred men. The enemy lost three pieces of cannon, and three thousand men, including one thousand eight hundred prisoners, amongst whom was General Freudenrich. In the battle of Vauchamps, on the 12th of February, Napoleon took fifteen pieces of cannon, ten standards, and two thousand prisoners; the enemy had besides seven thousand men killed and wounded. On the 15th of February, the allies determined upon the retreat of the army of Silesia, under Prince Blücher, beyond Chalons.

The affairs of Montmirail and Monttereau were highly glorious to the French: after the latter, Napoleon is reported to have said, "My heart is relieved; I shall save the capital of my empire."

The unsuccessful attack on Laon, on the 9th and 10th of March, though at intervals some advantages were gained, was rightly censured as an act of the highest temerity on the part of Napoleon, who, with less than thirty thousand men, had the presumption to enter into a conflict with a hundred thousand, in possession of a most formidable position. In this murderous affair the loss of the French, in men, cannon, and prisoners, was very considerable, and, besides, it rendered the immediate retreat of Napoleon to Scissions absolutely necessary.

On the 11th the allies got possession of Rheims, but were driven out a second time with the loss of eight hundred killed, sixteen hundred wounded, and two thousand five hundred prisoners.

In the midst of these events, the allies very safely adopted the determination of marching to Paris. Joachim Murat, the king of Naples, had now openly declared for them, and the French interest in Italy and Savoy was declining more rapidly than could have been expected. Savoy was abandoned by the French troops, as was also the city of Lyons; and other places in the south of France were closely pressed by the enemy.

A congress had been opened at Chatillon on the 4th of February, with the professed view of treating for a peace with Napoleon; but, without coming to so happy a conclusion, this was broken up on the 19th of March; an event certainly hastened by the suspicions entertained by Napoleon, as much as by the check which his army had received at Laon on the 10th.

The following circumstance is very important, since it proves how much Napoleon's thoughts were employed at this crisis upon the Bourbons. After the check sustained at Brienne, the evacuation of Troyes, the forced retreat on the Seine, and the degrading conditions transmitted from Chatillon, which were so generously rejected, the emperor, who was closeted with one of his friends, overpowered at sight of the miseries then impending on France, rose from his chair, exclaiming with warmth, "Perhaps I still possess the means of saving France. What if I were myself to recall the Bourbons! The allies would then be compelled to arrest their course, under pain of being over-

whelmed with disgrace, and detected in their duplicity ; under pain of being forced to acknowledge that their designs were directed against our territory, rather than against my person. I should sacrifice all to the country. I should become the mediator between the French people and the Bourbons. I should oblige the latter to accede to the national laws, and to swear fidelity to the existing compact ; my glory and my name would be a guarantee to the French people. As for me, I have reigned long enough. My career is filled with acts of glory, and this last will not be esteemed the least. I shall rise higher by descending thus far." Then, after a pause of some moments, he added— "But can a repulsed dynasty ever forgive? Can it ever forget? Can the Bourbons be trusted? May not Fox be right in his famous maxim respecting restorations?"

The marvellous successes of Champ Aubert, Montmirail, Chateau-Thierry, Vauchamps, Nangis, Montereau, Craone, Rheims, Arcis-sur-Aube, St. Dizier, &c. &c., dismayed Alexander and the English, and for a while suggested to them the necessity of treating in earnest. In fact, the short but immortal campaign of this year is described by Baron Fain, in a volume entitled, "The Manuscript of 1814," as an episode of miracles, in which Napoleon throughout appears supernatural in the resources of genius, the energy of mind, the celerity of motion, the steadiness of views, and the sublimity of courage which he then evinced. Nothing can be compared with the prodigies he performed, except, indeed, the indefatigable ardour of a handful of brave men frequently deprived of food and rest.

About this time Napoleon thought proper to re

store to the venerable Pope Pius what is called the Patrimony of St. Peter ; and a treaty was published in the *Moniteur*, expressing, that the departments of Rome and Trasimene had been rendered to his holiness, upon condition that he should abandon the rest of the Ecclesiastical States. No one, however, was the dupe of this jugglery ; and, a few days after, Murat, who coveted these estates, or the honour of giving them up, as much as his brother-in-law, remitted them in their full integrity to the pope.

Though, in the few combats that intervened between this period and the possession of Paris, the bravery and self-devotion of the French armies never shone brighter, the fearful odds of increasing numbers crippled every effort. In the last affair of Fere Champenoise, General Thevenet, after sustaining the fire of forty-eight pieces of cannon, held firm t'il the whole of the enemy's cavalry rushed upon him, and made a horrible butchery ; he himself was wounded and taken, and not a man escaped, as not a man would give or receive quarter, but fought with the bayonet till the last breath. The French on this occasion lost nine thousand in killed and wounded, nearly half the number that was present. Sixty pieces of cannon, &c. fell into the hands of the allies ; and this brilliant success completely opened to them the way to the capital.

How far the spirit of the French people might have been excited under the most untoward circumstances, appears from the conduct of the garrison and the inhabitants of Soissons. This town, when Napoleon's reverses were crowding thickly upon him, had been twice taken in less than a month, and did not appear capable of sustaining a



ong siege. Commanded by two branches of the Aisne, which waters its environs, abandoned more than twenty years, and only presenting ramparts without parapets, practicable breaches at every point, a ditch nearly filled up, and every where exposed to the enemy, it may be affirmed, that this place required great repairs before it could be secured from a *coup de main*. However, its position at the head of several roads had conferred upon it no small importance. The routes from Chateau-Thierry, Compeigne, and Rheims, twenty-five leagues distant from Paris, had become the best post that could be chosen between the Marne and the Oise, to cover the capital, though the strength of Soissons seemed inadequate to the purpose intended in this celebrated but unhappy campaign Napoleon had to regret the first loss at Soissons, occasioned by the death of Rusca, a general of division: but what painful sensations did he not feel in seeing the fruit of so many victories escape him, by the second surrender of the place, at the moment when Marshal Blucher, forced back upon the Aisne, had this not occurred, had no alternative but that of laying down his arms.

Napoleon wrote to the minister of war on the 6th of March, ordering him to retake Soissons. On this occasion, the duke de Feltre cast his eyes upon Gerard, chef de battalion of the thirty-second, and an officer of the legion of honour, who had given brilliant proofs of his valour at Polotsk, at Nogent-sur-Seine, at Mormant, and on many other occasions.

The task imposed upon the brave Gerard was very difficult to perform; the heavy responsibility attached to this undertaking had alarmed more than

the old general. On the 10th of March, he arrived at Soissons. At a single glance he discovered the advantages and the weak parts of his position, and immediately gave his orders for the demolition of old, or the erection of new works of the first necessity, informing the inhabitants that his orders were, to prevent the enemy from setting his foot within the place.

After two fruitless attacks upon Laon, the French army retired upon Soissons, and encamped under the walls on the 11th of March. On the 12th. Napoleon, having reconnoitred the place, gave fresh orders and instructions to the commandant, to whose demand he granted forty pieces of cannon, and three thousand men of all arms, including 1500 of his guard; it was also his particular desire, that the defenders of Soissons should oblige the enemy to attack the place according to the regular rules. On the 14th, Napoleon departed, leaving the marshal duke of Trevisa to cover the town, and who accordingly took a position on the heights before Crouy. The duke had orders to furnish Soissons with all the labourers he could spare. On the 15th the duke was attacked by the enemy's troops, much superior to his own, but without success. On the 16th and 17th, he continued a firm resistance, in order to give time to General Gerard to make his dispositions for receiving the enemy; but, on the 18th, he marched away, leaving General Charpentier's division in his position, to act as a rear-guard. After the imperial guard had entered Soissons on the 16th, General Gerard, having formed his garrison, found it composed of six battalions, two squadrons, three companies of artillery, and three others of sappers and miners; a staff was created

for the place, and the works were pushed with activity at every point.

On the 20th, General Charpentier wrote from Braine, informing General Gerard that Rheims had been abandoned by the corps under the duke of Trevisa, and that there was every appearance that the whole of Blucher's army was approaching. General Bulow, having been joined at Crouy by Sacken's corps, and having under him 30,000 men, summoned Soissons. On the evening of the 20th of March, the Prussian general, flattering himself that he should carry Soissons as easily as it had been carried by the Russian commandant Witzingerode, sent his flags of truce. General Gerard, refusing to receive their despatches, caused them to be conducted by two officers of the garrison to the camp whence they set out. These officers were ordered to inform General Bulow, that the commandant of Soissons would have no correspondence with the enemy, excepting the exchange of cannon-balls. Seeing no probability of negotiation, the enemy unmasked several batteries, and inundated the town with a discharge from howitzers and with red-hot balls, making at the same time a violent attack upon the fauxbourg of Paris, but without effect.

On the 22d, the enemy never ceased firing upon the place, and this fire, if it had been possible, would have augmented the ardour with which the besieged continued their labour at all points.

On the 24th, the enemy, having forcibly entered the suburb of St. Christophe, and established himself, immediately began to crenelate the houses of which he had got possession, at the same time that a battery was raised behind them upon the road to Compeigne. Soon after this their tirailleurs, that

were under cover, kept up a continual fire upon the gate of Paris. In consequence of this, General Gerard resolved to make a sortie from the Rheims and Paris gates, which he executed with success. The working parties, taken by surprise, abandoned the trenches without much resistance; some prisoners were taken; the enemy was entirely driven out, and the houses nearest the Paris gate were set on fire.

The enemy, to be revenged for this check, kept up a continual fire, during the night between the 24th and 25th, from a number of howitzers; but, deceived by the light of the fauxbourg in flames, the town suffered very little.

On the 25th, the inhabitants, deriving confidence from the dispositions of the chiefs, and the valour of the troops, and also inspired by the noble devotion which they perceived in their defenders, who were not able to take a moment's repose, spontaneously consented to obey the invitation of General Gerard, to join their patriotic efforts with those of the garrison.

On the 26th, General Bulow sent another flag of truce, who was warned against approaching the gates, and immediately ordered off. But, notwithstanding the brisk fire of the garrison and their frequent sorties, the approaches of the enemy were considerably advanced in the night between the 26th and 27th. The commandant then determined to make a strong sortie, for the purpose of reconnoitring the works of the besiegers, and, if possible to destroy them. The garrison, not exceeding two thousand five hundred men, received orders to hold themselves in readiness to fall upon the enemy

On the 28th, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

General Gerard harangued the troops; the action was intended to be decisive; the draughts from the old guard, the miners, and a squadron of gendarmerie, remained in reserve at the Paris gate, and the gunners were at their guns. At a given signal of a discharge of twenty pieces of cannon, that covered with their grape-shot the fauxbourg St. Christophe, the commandant, Gerard, at the head of the remainder of his garrison, attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that, owing to his surprise, he could not resist the shock; the labourers were killed or taken in the trenches; the guards and reserves were overthrown or put to flight. This day cost the Prussians under Bulow near nine hundred men; but the fauxbourg of St. Christophe was burnt. The garrison brought in with them about fifty prisoners: their own loss did not exceed eighty killed and wounded.

In the night between the 28th and 29th, the enemy contrived to keep the garrison upon the alert at different points, and, on the following day, opened a battery of four pieces upon the capital of the bastion No. 2; and sent another flag of truce that was refused. Favoured by the darkness of the night between the 29th and 30th, he forced a passage into the fosse; but this operation was not only checked by a brisk fire, but a shower of fascines, burning with pitch and other combustibles, thrown down from the ramparts, destroyed the enemy's works and his preparations.

On the 31st, at break of day, the garrison perceived with equal joy and surprise, that the enemy had abandoned his intrenchments, and withdrawn his artillery from the batteries. Some time after they saw the Prussian troops in position upon the

heights that surround Soissons, with a few posts and videttes in the plain, whilst several of their columns were filing off towards Paris and Compeigne.

M. Bergeres, at the head of a column of five hundred infantry and all the cavalry, next proceeded to reconnoitre the works of the besiegers, to destroy which the sappers, miners, and others were employed. The enemy did not attempt to annoy these troops, otherwise than by cannon, the grape from which wounded a few men.

On the 7th of April, the enemy sent two letters by a peasant, which General Gerard refused to receive. On the following day, a *parliamentaire*, who said he was sent by the new minister of war, was equally refused. On the 10th, General Gerard was informed that a Prussian convoy was at Venizel: this escort and twenty horses were brought into Soissons. On the 14th, in the afternoon, General Daboville, bearer of the acts of the provisionary government, was admitted into Soissons; he remitted to the commandant, General Gerard, a letter from which the following is an extract:

“The provisionary government transmits to you the faithful and authentic relation of the events to which Paris has been witness some days past. Amongst these documents you will remark the decree of the senate, which pronounces the fall of Napoleon and his family; the constitutional act, which recalls to the throne the legitimate inheritors and descendants of St. Louis and Henry the Fourth, and the unanimous adherence of the magistrates, the generals, officers and soldiers, who have devoted themselves without reserve to the holy cause of their country. You will there find the legalizer

copy of the act of abdication by Napoleon, signed at Fontainebleau on the 11th of the present month of April."

On the 15th, the commandant Gerard concluded an armistice with the blockading troops, and sent Bergeres, the commandant of the engineers, to Paris, to inquire into the real state of affairs. On the 16th, he received the official acts of the fall and abdication of Napoleon. After having transmitted these documents to the garrison, at half past ten at night he sent in to General Daboville his adhesion, and that of all the French corps under him, in order that it might be presented to the government.

On the 22d, a convention was signed with the Prussian lieutenant-general Borstel, commandant of the blockading troops. One of these articles is very remarkable; it states that a bridge shall be thrown across the Aisne above the stone bridge at Soissons, and under the cannon of the place, for the passage of the allied troops, so that not one single enemy should enter the town.

Thus terminated the siege of Soissons. This place, fortified with such haste and so imperfectly, sustained nine days of open trenches. Under its walls the enemy lost more than two thousand men.

On the 31st of March, in the morning, the allies entered Paris. In the evening Caulincourt came from Napoleon, to say that he acceded to the terms of peace which the allies had offered at Chatillon. The emperor gave no other answer, than that the time was past for treating with Bonaparte as sovereign of France. The emperor and the king of Prussia marched into Paris on the same day, and were received by all ranks of the population with the warmest acclamations. The enthusiasm and

exultation that were exhibited, far exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine and devoted friends of the ancient dynasty of France. It really appeared that the restoration of their legitimate king the downfall of Napoleon, and the desire of peace, had become the first and dearest wish of the Parisians, who, by the events of those days, had been emancipated from a system of terror and despotism impossible to describe, and kept in ignorance by arts of falsehood and deception incredible for an enlightened people, and almost incomprehensible to the reflecting part of mankind.

Napoleon had now moved his army from Troy by Sens towards Fontainebleau, where he was joined by the wrecks of Mortier and Marmont's corps; the whole did not exceed 40 or 50,000 men; nevertheless, he would have made some desperate attempt, had he been assured they would have supported him. The emperor of Russia, acting in accordance with the senate, proposed to Napoleon, in the name of the allied powers, to choose a place of retreat for himself and his family, and Caulincourt was directed to carry this proposal to him in answer to his own, which was, to submit to the decision of the senate, and to abdicate in favour of his son.

He had been informed of this resolution of the senate whilst at Fontainebleau. He was reviewing the troops on the 1st of April in the morning, and seemed to think them his own. He pretended not to know what had passed. Marshal Ney then gave him the Paris papers to read. In the mean time Lefebvre arrived, who, addressing the late emperor in a feeling tone, said, "You are undone! you would not listen to the counsels of any of your servants, and now the senate has declared that you



have forfeited the throne." These words drew tears from him; and he wrote the act of abdication almost immediately after. It is also related, that several generals sent to the duke of Bassano, who was mostly alone with the emperor, to dissuade him from appearing on parade, but he did not succeed. On the parade, Napoleon looked pale and thoughtful, whilst his convulsive motions showed his internal struggles; and he did not stop many minutes. When he returned into the palace, he asked the duke of Reggio if the troops would follow him. "No, sire," answered the duke: "you have abdicated."—"Yes, but upon certain conditions."—"The soldiers," resumed the duke, "do not comprehend the difference; they think you have no more any right to command them."—"Well then," said Napoleon, "this is no more to be thought of: let us wait for accounts from Paris."

The marshals left him, and returned in the night about twelve. Ney entered first—"Well, have you succeeded?" exclaimed Napoleon.—"Revolutions do not turn back: this has begun its course; it was too late. To-morrow the senate will recognise the Bourbons."—"Where shall I be able to live with my family?"—"Where your majesty shall please; and, for example, in the isle of Elba, with a revenue of six millions."—"Six millions! that is a great deal for a soldier as I am. I see very well I must submit. Salute all my companions."

The form of abdication was to the following purport: "The allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of

France and Italy ; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France.

“Done at the palace of Fontainebleau,  
April 11, 1814.”

At length, on the 20th of April, at eleven in the morning, Napoleon left Fontainebleau, followed by fourteen carriages. His escort employed sixty-four post-horses. The four commissioners of the allied powers, who accompanied him, were M. Suwatow a Prussian general, Kolliere, an English officer, and another, supposed to be an Austrian. Four officers of his household, among whom was his baker, formed part of his suite. Few of the military departed with him. To the officers and subalterns of the old guard he said on setting off, “I bid you farewell: during the twenty years that we have acted together, I have always found you in the path of glory. All the powers of Europe have armed against me: a part of my generals have betrayed their duty. With your assistance, and that of the brave men who remained faithful to me, I have for three years preserved France from civil war. Be faithful to your new king, whom France has chosen: be obedient to your commanders, and do not abandon your dear country, which too long has suffered. Pity not my fate. I shall be happy when I know that you are so likewise. I might have died: nothing would have been more easy to me; but I still wish to pursue the path of glory. What we have done I will write. I cannot embrace you all, but I will embrace your general. Come, general: let the eagle be brought to me, that I may also embrace it.” On embracing it, he said, “Ah, dear eagle, may

the kisses I bestow on you resound to posterity Adieu, my children! Adieu, my brave companions Once more encompass me." The staff then, attended by the four commissioners, formed a circle around him. Getting into the carriage at this moment, he could not suppress his feelings; he dropped a few tears. On this occasion, the English commissioner, who stood near him, and who had previously been his inveterate enemy, was so deeply moved, that he was affected in the same degree as Napoleon's attendants.

On the evening of the 20th Napoleon reached Briarre; on the 21st he arrived at Nevers; on the 22d at Rouanne; on the 23d at Lyons; on the 24th at Montelimart; on the 25th at Orgon; on the 26th he slept near Luc; on the 27th at Frejus; on the 28th, at eight in the evening, he embarked on board the English frigate the Undaunted, Captain Usher.

It was deemed prudent that Napoleon should reach Lyons at night; when the Austrian general and an English gentleman went out in disguise, and mingled with the crowd collected to see the dethroned monarch pass by, concluding that he would be the object of the bitterest imprecations. On the contrary, as soon as the emperor appeared, deep silence prevailed among the multitude, and an old woman, in deep mourning, with a countenance full of enthusiasm, rushed forward to the door of the carriage. "Sire," said she, with an air of solemnity, "may the blessing of Heaven attend your endeavour to make yourself happy. They tear you from us; but our hearts are with you wheresoever you go."

The four commissioners, and Captain Usher of the Undaunted frigate, who was appointed to convey him to Elba, dined with him on the 27th of April, previous to his embarkation. On the introduction of Captain Usher, he said, "that, though formerly our enemy, he was now as sincerely our friend, and that we were a great nation." On Captain Usher observing that he feared he could but ill accommodate him, Napoleon said, a British man of war was a palace. At dinner, the subject was chiefly naval affairs, of which he appeared a perfect master. He said that in three years his plans would have been completed; that he would have had two hundred sail of the line, well manned, as his naval conscription fully answered his expectations. He said that his principal object in annexing Holland to France, was for the purpose of making good sailors, by exercising them on the Zuyderzee; and, turning round to the Russian commissioner, added, that he had constructed a three-decker, then called the Austerlitz. The conversation was highly interesting. Napoleon looked remarkably well, and talked with his usual confidence. A French frigate was sent to wait upon him, but he preferred going in the English frigate.

On the evening before his embarkation at Frejus, an immense mob had gathered round his hotel. He sent for Captain Usher; his sword was on the table, and he appeared very thoughtful. Captain Usher observed, that the French mob was the worst he had seen: he answered, they are a fickle people. Napoleon appeared deep in thought; but recovering himself, rung the bell, and ordered the grand marshal to be sent for: he asked if all was ready,

being answered in the affirmative, he turned to the captain in his usual quick way, and said, *Allons*, let us go. The stairs were lined on each side with ladies and gentlemen; he stopped a moment, and said something to the ladies. He walked to his carriage, and called for the captain, the Austrian commissioner, and the grand marshal, and they drove off.

When he came on board the Undaunted, he walked round the ship: the people crowded about him, and, for the first time in his life, he seemed to feel confidence in a mob.

On the morning after Napoleon's arrival at Porto Ferrajo, all the authorities were ordered to attend the ceremony of his entrance. Accordingly, on the 4th of April, in the morning, a flag was brought into the town with some solemnity, and immediately hoisted on the castle. This flag had a white ground interspersed with bees, and in the centre appeared the arms of Napoleon and those of the island of Elba, united by a rose-coloured stripe. Some time after the flag was hoisted, Napoleon landed with all his suite, and was saluted with 101 rounds of cannon. The English frigate replied to the salute with 24 guns. Napoleon was dressed in a blue great coat, under which appeared a suit richly embroidered with silver, with a peculiar decoration: he had a small round hat with a white cockade. He was conducted to the house of the mayor, where he received the visits of all the superior officers: he spoke to them with an air of confidence, and even of gayety, putting a number of questions relative to the isle. After reposing a short time, he got on horseback, and visited the forts of Marciana, Campo, Capo, Liviri, and Rio. On the morning of

the 5th, accompanied by the commissaries of the allied powers, he rode to Porto Longone, five miles from Porto Ferrajo, and also visited the iron mines that constitute the wealth of the isle.

Whilst in this island, the emperor observed that his flag had become the first in the Mediterranean. It was held sacred, he said, by the Algerines, who usually made presents to the Elba captains, telling them that they were paying the debt of Moscow. Some Algerine ships, once anchoring off the island, caused great alarm among the inhabitants, who questioned the pirates, and asked them plainly whether they came with any hostile views—"Against the great Napoleon!" said the Algerines—"oh! never—we do not wage war on God."

Notwithstanding Napoleon's pretended ignorance of what was passing on the continent, or the more honourable motive of not committing the persons who brought him intelligence, besides one officer disguised as a sailor, more than a hundred French and Italian officers, with their uniforms and swords, and with regular passports, coming from France, Corsica, Genoa, Leghorn, Piombino, Civita Vecchia, or Naples, visited Elba, and brought him particular news of what was passing in France or Italy.

Among other reasons assigned by Napoleon for his leaving Elba, he mentioned a visit from an English nobleman, a Catholic, about thirty years of age. He had dined with the duke de Fleury a few weeks before, when, the conversation turning upon the sum of money to be allowed Napoleon annually, according to a treaty signed by the ministers of the allied powers, the duke laughed at him for his supposing for a moment that it would

be complied with, and said they were not such fools. "That," said Bonaparte, "was one of the motives which induced me to quit Elba." He was surprised that some English frigates had not been ordered to cruise about the island, and that a French frigate had not been stationed in the harbour. Other violations of the treaty of Fontainebleau, he said, obliged him to take the step he did: his wife and child were seized, detained, and never permitted to join him. They were to have had the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which they were deprived of. Prince Eugene Beauharnois was to have had a principality in Italy. Napoleon's mother and brothers were to receive pensions, which were also refused: his own private property was seized in the hands of Laboullerie, and all claims made by Bonaparte rejected. Besides, he said, assassins were sent over to Elba to murder him.

Among the minor events of the year 1814, it should be observed, Piedmont was restored to the king of Sardinia, though the long occupation of that country by the French had fostered a French interest there, which obstructed its ready return to its ancient allegiance. Genoa was also given up to the Sardinian monarch, and the city and republic of Venice restored to the emperor of Austria. The island of Sicily also, which the circumstances of the war had so long converted, as it were, to an English garrison, naturally returned to its pristine condition after the peace; and, in the beginning of June, it was announced from Palermo, that his majesty Ferdinand had resumed the reins of government, and returned to Naples, after an absence of nine years.

France, in consequence of Bonaparte's failures and abdication, being reduced to her former limits, Holland was soon after enlarged by the addition of the Catholic Netherlands. The emperor Francis showed no reluctance in getting rid of a detached territory, which had long been more of a burden than a benefit. On the 1st of August, 1814, a proclamation by Baron de Vincent, the Austrian governor, informed the people that Belgium was to be given up into the hands of the sovereign prince of the Netherlands; and the prince of Orange soon after assured his new subjects, that the destination of these provinces was only a part of a system, by which the allied sovereigns hoped to ensure to the nations of Europe a long period of prosperity and repose.

It may be necessary to mention here, that Joachim Murat, having effected his escape from Italy, retired to Provence, in the south of France, while Madame Murat and her family found an asylum in the Austrian states.

The results of the battle of Waterloo, in the following year, obliged Murat to quit France; and in September, 1815, he appeared in the island of Corsica, where he assembled a number of partisans to assist him in invading Naples, and to recover the throne from which he had been expelled. At mid-day, on the 8th of October, he disembarked in Calabria with a suite of thirty persons, and marched without interruption to the first village, where, hoping to excite a rising of the people, Murat exclaimed, "I am Joachim, your king; it is your duty to acknowledge me." These words served to rouse the people to arms, not to aid, but to crush a desperate enterprise, that threatened to



involve their country in the horrors of a civil war Murat and his suite sought refuge in the mountains, and afterwards endeavoured to open themselves a way to the coast, but were made prisoners. Immediately after his capture, Murat was brought to trial before a military commission, by which he was condemned to be shot, in company with his followers ; this accordingly took place in the afternoon of the 13th of October, and thus released the apprehensions of the reigning family for the safety of their throne.

Such was the miserable end of him who had been one of the most active causes of Napoleon's reverses. In 1814, his courage, it was admitted, might have saved Napoleon from the abyss in which his treachery involved his former sovereign. He neutralized the vice-king Eugene, on the Po, and fought against him ; whereas, by uniting together, they might have forced the passes of the Tyrol, made a descent into Germany, and, arriving on the Rhine, might have destroyed the rear of the allies, and cut off their retreat from France.

The emperor, while he was at Elba, avoided all communication with Murat, as king of Naples ; but, on departing for France, he wrote to inform him, that, being about to resume possession of his throne, he felt pleasure in declaring to him, that all their past differences were at an end. He pardoned his late conduct, tendered him his friendship, sent some one to sign the guarantee of his states, and recommended him to maintain a good understanding with the Austrians, and content himself merely with keeping them in check, should they attempt to march upon France. Murat, at this

moment, actuated by the sentiments of his early youth, would receive neither guarantee nor signature. He declared, that the emperor's promise and friendship were sufficient for him, and that he would prove he had been more unfortunate than guilty. His devotedness and ardour, he added, would obtain for him oblivion for the past.

"Murat," said the emperor, "was doomed to be our bane. He ruined us by forsaking us, and he afterwards ruined us by too warmly espousing our cause. I had forbidden him to act; for, after I had returned from Elba, there was an understanding between the emperor of Austria and me, that, if I gave him up Italy, he would not join the coalition against me. This I had promised, and would have fulfilled; but that *imbecille*, in spite of the direction to remain quiet, advanced with his rabble into Italy, where he was blown away like a puff. The emperor of Austria, seeing this, concluded directly that it was by my order."

In the meanwhile, Louis, who had ascended the throne of France, found himself surrounded with difficulties. The splendid military despotism, which, for several years, had dazzled his country, had hushed, but not destroyed, the revolutionary parties. A great mass of past glory still adhered to the name of Napoleon; and his partisans, and even his troops, had no difficulty in finding reasons for his failures in unforeseen circumstances, and in the perfidious desertion of his former allies. The pride of the nation, co-operating with this feeling, spurned at the idea of being conquered. As soon, therefore, as the joy of present relief from danger had subsided, a spirit of discontent manifested i

self in animosity against the allies, and in disaffection to a government which they considered had been imposed upon them by foreign arms. This spirit was so strong in the capital, and in some of the departments, that it required all the vigilance of the government to prevent its breaking out into open insurrection.

## CHAPTER X.

*State of Parties in France at the Commencement of 1815—Situation of Napoleon at the Isle of Elba—Change in his Habits—Learns the Discontents of the French People—The Symbol of the Violet—Blindness and Insensibility of the Bourbons—Removal of Bonaparte in Agitation at Vienna—This prevented by his own Determination to quit Elba, and return to France—His actual Departure on the 26th of February—His Fortitude and Presence of Mind—Lands, and takes up his first Night's Quarters in a Field of Olives—His March to Paris—Re-establishment of the imperial Government—Activity and Bustle of the hundred Days—The Champ de Mai—Plans for the ensuing Campaign.*

THE state of parties in France, at the commencement of the year 1815, still indicated alarming differences in sentiments and opinions among large classes of the community. The military, in particular, deeply felt the humiliation of the French arms. A recent ordinance for the reduction of all officers, not immediately in employ, to half-pay, combined with the recall of the Swiss guards to the capital, and the exclusion of the old imperial guard from Paris, swelled the tide of discontent to an alarming height. To add to such stimulants, already too strong, a religious ceremony, calculated to revive a recollection of the errors and crimes of the revolution, and by no means adapted to the enlightened spirit of the times, was performed on the 21st of January, the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. On the 18th, the remains of the bodies of the king and queen were taken up from the cemetery of the Magdalene, where they had lain two-and-twenty years. They were then enclosed in a large box, which was fastened, and seal

ed with the signet of the arms of France, and carried into a chamber, in order that the ecclesiastics might continue round the two bodies the prayers of the church, till the time finally fixed for the placing them in leaden coffins, and for carrying them to the royal church of St. Denis, where they were finally entombed. The people now not only imagined that they should be compelled to pay respect to all the ancient rites and prejudices in religion, but that it was intended to restore the whole circle of feudal tenures and services, especially as the theatres of Paris had been ordered to be shut on the day of the re-interment of the royal corpses, and a service commemorative of the death of Louis XVI., then considered as a martyr, introduced into the French liturgy. To add to this aggravation, many persons, from factious motives, were busy in disseminating reports of designs, on the part of government, to restore tithes, and invalidate the purchase of national property.

The arrival of Napoleon at Elba has been noticed in the preceding chapter. There his ever-active mind was immediately applied to completing the fortification of his capital, improving the public roads, and adding to the agricultural and mineral resources of the island. One of his attendants observed, "His days passed in the most pleasing occupations ; all his hours were filled up." In the morning, he shut himself up in his library. He often rose before the sun, and employed himself several hours in study ; about eight o'clock, he visited the works he had projected, and spent a considerable time amongst his workmen. Whatever might be the state of the weather, he repaired daily to his chateau at St. Martin, and there, as in the city, he

was occupied with the interior management of his house, and required an exact account of every thing entering into the smallest details of rural and domestic economy. Often, after breakfast, he reviewed his little army, required the greatest regularity in their exercises and manœuvres, and caused the strictest discipline to be observed. After the review, he mounted his horse, generally attended by Marshal Bertrand and General Drouot, and in his excursions often gave audience to those who met him. At dinner, all who were admitted to his table were treated with kindness and cordiality; as he had acquired the secret of enjoying the most intimate and friendly society, without surrendering any part of his dignity. The evenings were usually dedicated to family parties.

However, when the first impressions of novelty were effaced, Bonaparte's mind gradually subsided into a state bordering upon *ennui*. He grew corpulent, took less exercise, and more sleep. But his knowledge of the discussions of the congress of Vienna, with respect to his future disposal, and the treatment of the empress and his son, soon roused him from this state. Hitherto he had evinced a decided preference for the society of Sir Neil Campbell, the British accredited agent at Elba; but, having received a visit from some of his family and friends, he became restless and dissatisfied. He shunned the company of the British resident, and almost secluded himself from society. Often he would spend seven or eight hours in his closet, no one daring to intrude on his retirement; and at other times he would wander on the shore with folded arms, and frequently with an unequal and agitated step. The increasing discontents of the

French people had now come to his knowledge ; the wheel of vicissitudes was again in motion, and the mind of Napoleon became intently fixed upon the progress of the rotation.

This striking alteration in his conduct, and the frequent intercourse which he had opened with his friends in Leghorn, Florence, and other parts of the continent, were not concealed from the principal governments of Europe. A corvette had also been assigned to him, to keep up his communication with the ports of the Mediterranean, and no cruiser of any nation had any right to violate his flag. In fact, Colonel Sir Neil Campbell had not any authority for seizing or detaining Bonaparte, if he thought proper to quit the island. His device, the *violet*, the secret symbol by which his friends denoted him, and knew each other, was extended on the course of the Seine, as well as on the banks of the lake of Geneva. Rings of a violet colour, with the device, *Elle reparatrai au printemps*—"It will re-appear in the spring," became fashionable. Females wore violet-coloured silks, and the men displayed violet-coloured watch-strings ; and the mutual question, when persons met, was, generally, *Aimez vous la violette ?*—"Are you fond of the violet ?" to which the answer of a confederate was, *Eh ! bien*—"Ah ! well."

In the midst of this peril, the Bourbons seemed to slumber at the Tuilleries, and to disregard the warning voice so often sounded in their ears. Early in January, offers are understood to have been received by M. Blacas, the minister and favourite of his sovereign, to disclose a plot formed for the restoration of Bonaparte ; but the proposal was received with contemptuous silence, and treated with

neglect. Posterity will scarcely credit the assertion, that, after the return of Napoleon, there were found, in the bureau of the Abbé Montesquieu, several successive communications from the Comte de Bontheliers, prefect of the department of the Var, unread and unopened. The early part of these communications, dated in the month of January, informed the minister of the frequent arrival at, and the departure of various persons from, Elba. At Vienna, also, the conduct of the illustrious exile had become the subject of correspondence between Lord Castlereagh and M. Talleyrand; and it certainly was in agitation to remove Napoleon to a situation more remote from his family and his friends, and less dangerous to the future tranquillity of Europe. These circumstances served to hasten the grand catastrophe.

The preparations made for the hazardous enterprise, now preparing to burst upon an astonished world, formed a striking contrast with those made by the same personage, some years before, for the invasion of England. For the army that was now to invade France, one day's notice was all that was deemed necessary. Instead of two hundred thousand men, here were considerably less than one thousand: the flotilla, on board which they were embarked, consisted of the *Inconstant*, of 26 guns, *L'Etoile* and *La Caroline*, bombarded, and four feluccas. The orders to embark were not received till one in the afternoon; and at eight o'clock, in the evening of the 26th of February, the expedition with the emperor and his staff on board the *Inconstant*, sailed from Porto Ferrajo at the signal of a single gun. Every thing had been for some time in motion; crowds of old men, women, and children



eagerly rushed to the shore, and thronged round the faithful companions of Napoleon, contending with each other for the honour of touching them, seeing and embracing them, for the last time.

The French rushed into their boats, martial music struck up, and the flotilla sailed majestically from the shore amid the shouts of *Vive l'empereur*. Napoleon, when he set his foot on board the vessel, was calm and serene, only exclaiming with Cæsar "The die is cast!" Count Bertrand's eyes sparkled with hope and joy: Drouot and Gorgaud were pensive and serious: the old grenadiers resumed their martial aspect; and Napoleon chatted and joked with them incessantly. All were burning to know their destination, but none dared to ask the question. At length Napoleon broke silence "Grenadiers," said he, "we are going to France we are going to Paris." At these words every countenance expanded. An English sloop of war under Captain Campbell, which seemed to have the charge of watching the island of Elba, at the moment of embarkation, was at Leghorn; however, several vessels were in sight, and excited some apprehensions. These were soon increased by a calm, and at day-break the flotilla was still between the islands of Elba and Caprea, having advanced no more than six leagues. About noon the wind freshened a little, and at four o'clock they were off Leghorn. A frigate and a man-of-war brig were still in sight and the latter was coming down upon the imperial flotilla, right before the wind. The emperor ordered the soldiers of the guard to take off their caps, and go below. At six o'clock, the French brig *Le Zephyr* passed alongside the *Inconstant*, and the captain inquired after the emperor, when

he was answered by Napoleon himself, that the emperor was extremely well. The other brig and the Zephir now steered different courses, without the least suspicion of the valuable prize which they had suffered to escape. In the night of the 27th, the wind continued to freshen, and at day-break a seventy-four gun ship was descried steering for Fiorenza, or Sardinia, but it was soon perceived that she took no notice of the flotilla.

Before Napoleon had left Elba, he had prepared two proclamations; one addressed to the French people, the other to the army. They were couched in his usually animated style, and dated Gulf of Juan, March 1, 1815.

On the 1st of March, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they entered the Gulf of Juan. At five, the emperor landed, and took up his quarters for the night in a field surrounded with olives. "This," Napoleon exclaimed, "is a happy omen: may it be realized!" Among a few peasants that appeared, was one who had formerly served under Napoleon, and, knowing him, would not quit him. "See," said the emperor to Bertrand; "we have got a reinforcement already." He spent the evening chatting and laughing familiarly with his guards.

Five-and-twenty men, who had been sent forward to Antibes, to sound the garrison, under the pretext that they were deserters from Elba, behaved so imprudently, that the French commandant of the garrison ordered the drawbridge to be raised, and detained them as prisoners. Napoleon, finding they did not return, despatched an officer to the walls of Antibes, to harangue the soldiers; but he found the gates of the town and the harbour both closed, and that it was not possible to

see General Corsin, or to speak to the soldiers. Napoleon, though a little disconcerted at this event, began his march at eleven at night, with four small pieces of artillery in his train. He proceeded to Cannes, thence to Grasses, and, in the evening of the 2d, arrived at the village of Cerenon. On the 3d, he slept at Bareme, and at Digne on the 4th. The peasants blessed his return; but, when they saw his little troop, they looked on him with pity and very little hope.

On the 5th, he slept at Gap, and here first printed his proclamations, which were distributed with the rapidity of lightning.

On the 6th, at two in the afternoon, he left Gap, and the whole city went to see him set off. At St. Bonnel, the inhabitants proposed sounding the alarm-bell, to collect the neighbouring villagers, and accompany him in a body, but Napoleon declined the offer. On the same night he slept at Gorp. At Sisteron, the people were willing to furnish more provisions than were demanded; and, when the battalion of Elba appeared, they offered it a tri-coloured flag. Three leagues from Gorp the emperor found a battalion of the 5th regiment, a company of sappers, &c., in all seven or eight hundred men, opposed to him. He sent Raoul to parley with them; they would not hear him. Napoleon then alighting from his horse, marched straight to the detachment, followed by his guard, with arms secured: "What, my friends," said he to them, "do you not know me? I am your emperor; if there be a soldier among you who is willing to kill his general, his emperor, he may do it; here I am;" and he placed his hand upon his breast. "Long

live the emperor !” was the answer, in an unanimous shout.

It seems a division of royalists continued to cover Grenoble, which the soldiers who had now joined Bonaparte being anxious to march against, their request was granted. Before they had reached Vizille the crowd of inhabitants increased every instant ; but between this place and Grenoble an adjutant-major came to announce that Colonel Labedoyere had separated from the troops at Grenoble, and was hastening, with his regiment, to the emperor.

Soon after, loud shouts were heard at a distance , the soldiers, when they approached, being impatient to join, broke their ranks, and nothing was heard but “The guard for ever ! the seventh for ever !” Napoleon, thus seeing his forces and the public spirit increasing every step, resolved to enter Grenoble that very evening, when, before he reached the city, a young merchant, an officer of the national guard, offered his services and a hundred thousand francs. Farther on he was joined by a party of officers, by whom he learned that General Marchand and the prefect of Grenoble had declared against him, drawn the troops into the town, and closed the gates ; and that the ramparts were covered by the third regiment of engineers, composed of two thousand sappers, all veterans, covered with honourable scars ; by the fourth artillery of the line, some battalions of the fifth, and hussars of the fourth. Napoleon, however, and his party, with their arms reversed, and marching with joyful irregularity, approached the walls singing. Nothing was heard but “Grenoble for ever ! France for

ever!" The garrison, the national guard, and the town's-people, spread over the ramparts, beheld at first with surprise and emotion these transports of joy and attachment; and it was not long before they partook of them: the besiegers and the besieged uttered at once the rallying words, "Long live the emperor!" The people and the soldiers rushed to the gates, which were in an instant beaten down, and Napoleon, surrounded, thronged by an idolizing crowd, made his triumphant entry into Grenoble. Soon after, the people came and brought him the fragments of the gates, with trumpets sounding, and said, "For want of the keys of the good town of Grenoble, here are the gates for you." Here Napoleon questioned young Labedoyere on the state of Paris, and of France in general. Full of the noblest sentiments, the frankness with which he expressed himself sometimes staggered Napoleon: "Sire," he said, "the French will do every thing for your majesty, but then your majesty must do every thing for them: *no more ambition, no more despotism: we are determined to be free and happy.* It is necessary, sire, to renounce that system of conquest and power, which occasioned the misfortunes of France and of yourself." Napoleon promised every thing, if he should succeed.

Proclamations, &c. printed at Grenoble, were diffused in every direction, and couriers despatched to announce Napoleon's entrance into that city, and his prospects of success. Here he reviewed the garrison of six thousand men, which afterwards set out on its march to Lyons. The empress and Prince Joseph Bonaparte were written to from Grenoble, and it was carefully made known to the

people, that Marie Louise and her son were coming to join the emperor.

The news of the emperor's landing did not reach Paris till the 5th of March, at night. It transpired on the 6th, and on the 7th a royal proclamation appeared in the *Moniteur*, convoking the chambers immediately. A decree was also issued, placing Napoleon, and all who should join him, out of the protection of the law. On the 8th, the *Moniteur* announced that Bonaparte had landed with eleven hundred men, most of whom had deserted him; that he was wandering in the mountains, with only a few attendants; that he had been refused provisions, was in want of every thing, and must soon give himself up to his pursuers. All manner of falsehoods and empty boasts were propagated among the royalists; and, on the 11th of March, an officer in the king's household appeared in the balcony of the Tuilleries, and, waving his hat, announced that the king had just received an official account, that the duke of Orleans, at the head of twenty thousand of the national guard of Lyons, had attacked Bonaparte, and completely beaten him. On the 12th, this victory was contradicted, and a decree that followed for assembling a new army in front of Paris, and a call upon the three millions of national guards to take up arms, sufficiently indicated the danger apprehended by the king and his friends. In fine, the defection of Marshal Ney completely removed the vail of deception. The king again swore to maintain the charter; but, in the course of a few days, he left Paris for Ghent, and Bonaparte and his troops made another triumphant entry.

In the interim, when Napoleon approached the

city of Lyons, he found the count D'Artois with Marshal Macdonald, determined, as he was told, to defend the place ; however, as at Grenoble, he was received with shouts of "Long live the emperor !" by the immense population as well as by the troops. The count D'Artois fancied he could gain the military by the distribution of money ; but they were deaf to his words, entreaties, and promises. Passing before the thirteenth regiment of dragoons, he said to one of them, decorated with three *chevrons* and with scars, "Come, comrade, shout, Long live the king !" "No, sir ; no soldier will fight against his father. I can only answer you by saying, Long live the emperor !" Confused, and in despair, the count exclaimed, "All is lost !"—At five in the evening, the whole garrison joined the emperor ; at six, the imperial army took possession of the city ; and at seven, Napoleon made his solemn entry, proceeding alone before his troops, but preceded and followed by an immense crowd, expressing, by incessant acclamations, the intoxication, the happiness and pride they felt at seeing him again. He alighted at the archbishop's palace, which, with his person, he intrusted to the national guard. He rejected the services of the horse-guards, assigning as his reason their ill behaviour to the count D'Artois. This corps, chiefly composed of nobles, after having sworn they would die for the count, Napoleon was informed, had deserted him ; one excepted, who remained faithfully attached to his escort till the moment he thought the prince out of danger. Napoleon, who loved a noble action, not only commended the conduct of this generous Lyonese, but appointed him a member of the legion of honour.

Hitherto the civil government under Louis had remained unchanged ; but, by several decrees, issued by Napoleon from Lyons, on the 13th of March the chambers were dissolved, and a variety of changes made, which at once embraced every part of the civil and military administration of the state. On the same day, Napoleon left the city of Lyons, with a high encomium upon its fidelity and attachment.

On the 16th, the emperor slept at Avalon ; and here an officer of the staff came and brought Marshal Ney's submission, and his orders of the day, in which he announced to the troops, that the cause of the Bourbons was lost for ever ; that liberty was at length triumphant ; and that their august emperor was about to confirm it, and would be at Paris in a few days.

On the 17th, the emperor arrived at Auxerre. He alighted at the prefect's house. At eight o'clock in the evening, Ney arrived, and on the following day received a very cordial reception. The emperor, as soon as he perceived him, said, "Embrace me, my dear marshal : I am glad to see you : I have honoured and esteemed you as the bravest of the brave." The marshal ended his compliments to Napoleon, and the profession of his own patriotism, with observing that the Bourbons incessantly sought to humiliate them. "I am," said he, "still enraged, when I think that a marshal of France, like me, was obliged to kneel down before that \*\*\* of a duke of B——— to receive the cross of St. Louis. It could not last ; and if you had not come to expel them, we should have driven them out ourselves."

Here the emperor wrote to the empress for the



third time ; and about this period he had heard of so many plots against his life, as to produce a painful impression, and he could not help contrasting this disposition for assassinating him, with the conduct he had observed towards many of his bitterest enemies when they were completely in his power.

In advance of Fossard, the king's regiment of dragoons were drawn up in order of battle, for the purpose of joining him. On the road to Fontainebleau, the emperor was informed that two thousand of the body-guards were drawn up in the forest to oppose him. Hitherto his only escort had been the carriage of General Drouot, which preceded his, and that of M. Fleury de Chaboulon, which closed the march. Some officers, and three or four Polanders, galloped by the side of them. The horses, the postilions, the couriers, were decked with tricoloured ribands, which gave the whole party an air of festivity.

At two o'clock on the 20th of March, Napoleon set out for Paris ; but, retarded by the crowd, and the felicitations of the troops and the generals who came to meet him, he could not reach it till nine in the evening. As soon as he alighted, the people rushed on him : a thousand arms bore him up, and carried him along in triumph to the Tuilleries. The halls of the palace seemed metamorphosed into a field of battle, where friends and brothers, unexpectedly escaped from death, found and embraced one another after victory.

At an early hour on the following morning, thousands assembled to view Napoleon, who appeared at one of the windows every five minutes, when he was saluted with incessant acclamations, and, if absent from popular observation for any longer pe

riod, he was compelled to show himself, as the clamour became so loud and imperious.

The very evening of his arrival, Napoleon had a long conversation with the duke of Otranto, and other dignitaries of the state, on the situation of France. Napoleon could not disguise his rapture; "never was he seen so madly gay, or so prodigal of boxes on the ear, his favourite compliment. The fonder he was of a person, the more he gave him, and the harder he struck."

Prince Cambaceres was with reluctance placed at the head of the new administration, as minister of justice. The prince of Echmuhl was named minister of war. The duke of Vicenza was made minister of foreign affairs. The duke of Gaëta and Count Mollien again became ministers of the finances and the treasury; and the duke of Otranto had the charge of the police.

The re-establishment of the imperial government took place on all sides with a promptitude and facility truly extraordinary. Marshal Augereau, who had endeavoured, in his proclamation of 1814, to disgrace the emperor, was eager to make his recantation in a fresh proclamation. The duke of Belluno and Count Gouvion St. Cyr, after making vain efforts to curb their insurgent troops, were glad to escape from their resentment by flight. The military household of the king had submitted to their discharge, and readily surrendered their horses and arms. In fine, the royal family having evacuated the imperial territory, the emperor thought proper to acquaint the army in person with these happy results: "Thanks to the French people and to you," said he, on reviewing the troops on the 27th of March, "the imperial throne is re

established. It is acknowledged throughout the empire, and not a single drop of blood has been spilt. The count de Lille, the count D'Artois, the duke de Berri, the duke of Orleans, have passed our northern frontier, and sought an asylum among foreigners. The tri-coloured flag waves on the towers of Calais, Dunkirk, Lille, Valenciennes, Condé, &c."

Of all the family of the Bourbons, the duke and dutchess of Angouleme alone persisted in the struggle against Napoleon. The dutchess was at Bordeaux at the time of the landing from Elba. Even after what she had heard had taken place at Paris, she made the national guard at Bordeaux take up arms: she hastened to the barracks to harangue the soldiers, and exerted herself with such spirit and activity, that Napoleon himself was pleased to say, "The dutchess D'Angouleme is the only man in the family."

The duke D'Angouleme, in the south of France, when nearly abandoned by all his followers, surrendered to General Gilly, and, having formally disbanded his army, was allowed by Napoleon to embark at Cette, from whence he sailed for Cadiz. His capitulation and departure soon led to the submission of Marseilles, which had taken part with the royalists.

About this period, Napoleon sent another letter to the empress Marie Louise. The emperor of Austria ordered it to be delivered into his hands, and contented himself with informing his daughter, that he had received news of her husband, and that he was well. Neither Napoleon nor his ministers neglected any means that could assure the foreign sovereigns of his pacific intentions; and, in

a letter addressed to them individually and collectively, he gave a solemn and authentic character to the manifestation of these sentiments.

The duke of Vicenza, also, had orders personally to express the same sentiments to the foreign ministers, as those with which the emperor was animated ; but the couriers who carried his despatches were impeded or arrested, and it was evident that the hostile declaration of the Congress at Vienna, on the 13th of March, 1815, was acted upon already. In this declaration they charged Bonaparte with infringing the convention he had entered into on the 30th of March, 1814, which settled him in the island of Elba, by re-appearing in France with the design of disturbing and subverting it. The powers declared, in consequence, that Napoleon Bonaparte had thrown himself out of all the relations of civil society ; that they would employ all their means, and unite all their efforts, to prevent the general peace from being disturbed anew ; that they would be ready to furnish the king of France, or any other government that may be attacked, with the succours necessary to restore the public tranquillity, as soon as they shall be demanded, &c. &c. This was signed by the respective ministers of Austria, Spain, France, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, &c., and, on the part of Great Britain by Wellington, Clancarty, and Stewart.

Prince Joseph and Prince Lucien both arrived, about the 10th of April, at Paris, to offer their fortunes and their services.

It is remarkable, that both England and Austria, in memoirs published on the 25th of April, and May 9, 1815, authentically declared, that they had not engaged, by the treaty of the 29th of March, to

restore Louis XVIII. to the throne ; and that their intentions in pursuing the war, were not to impose on France any particular government whatever.

The fortification of the capital now engaged Napoleon's attention, and during this operation he frequently went, with a few officers of his household, to stimulate the zeal of the workmen. But, at the moment when the population of Paris were testifying their attachment to their country and their emperor, the alarm bell of insurrection again resounded through the plains of La Vendée, where the peasants from Anjou, Poitou, &c. were collected. This rising in La Vendée, in consequence of the death of M. De La Roche Jacqueline, was soon quelled.

Much about this time, as observed in the preceding chapter, the rumour of the defeat and death of Murat, king of Naples, arrived. The Lazaroni having assassinated a few Frenchmen at Naples, the minister of police repaired to the royal palace with the intent of murdering the queen, the sister of Napoleon. This princess, worthy of the blood that circulated in her veins, was not affrighted by their shouts and threats ; she courageously made head against them, and compelled them to return to their obedience. Joachim Murat, who had performed prodigies of valour, considering the slender means he had of opposing the Austrians, whom he had unnecessarily provoked, returned, in the night of the 19th of March, to Naples. The queen appeared indignant at seeing him. "Madam," said he to her, "I was not able to find death." He departed immediately, to prevent his falling into the hands of the Austrians ; but the queen, notwithstanding the dangers that threatened her life re-

solved to remain at Naples till her fate and that of the army were decided. When the treaty was signed, she went on board an English vessel, and repaired to Trieste.

But whilst the commencement of hostilities against France was only waiting for the arrival of the Russians, the Parisians, not contented with erecting their intrenchments with their own hands, solicited the honour of defending them ; and twenty thousand men, composed of guards, federates of the suburbs, and citizens of all ranks, were formed into battalions for actual service, under the denomination of tirailleurs of the national guard. Unfortunately, however, the arsenals had been plundered in 1814, so that, instead of having six hundred thousand muskets, scarcely enough could be found to arm the troops of the line, and the national guards sent to garrison the fortified towns. Here, however, we may observe, that no part of Napoleon's political life, marked as it had always been by the most rapid and extraordinary promptitude in military preparations, afforded a greater display of activity than was manifested during the hundred days which formed the duration of his second reign. Amidst all his political pursuits, he was never diverted from his military preparations. Cannon, muskets, and arms of every description, were founded and forged, and issued from the manufactories with incredible celerity. The old corps were recruited ; new levies were instituted, under the various names of free corps, fédérées, and volunteers ; the whole kingdom seemed transformed at once into an immense camp, of which Napoleon was the spring and the leader

The Champ de Mai, long delayed by unforeseen circumstances, was celebrated on the 1st of June the ceremonies were imposing, and the addresses, on the part of the emperor and the electors, were in the usual inflated style.

Napoleon, having sworn upon the Gospels to observe, and to cause to be observed, the constitutions of the empire, ordered the oath of fidelity to be proclaimed by the arch-chancellor Cambacères. The people being represented by the electors, this was spontaneously repeated by the latter, by the troops, and the majority of the spectators; the ministers of war, and the marine, at the head of their deputations. The staff officers of the imperial and the national guards afterwards advanced to take the oath, and receive from the hands of the chief of the state the eagles intended for their acceptance.

Napoleon was far from having united all parties by this grand solemnity. The people were disgusted with theatrical representations and empty declamation. The old revolutionists wished him to abolish the empire, and re-establish the republic. The partisans of the regency would have had him resign the crown to his son; whilst the most liberal partisans maintained, that he ought to have submitted it to the sovereign people, and received it again from them, or to have consented that they should place it upon the head of some more worthy object.

Soon after the meeting of the Champ de Mai, the emperor sent Count de Flahaut to Vienna, to negotiate or demand publicly, in the name of nature and the law of nations, the deliverance of the em-

press and her son. He set out, but could not be allowed to proceed beyond Stattgard. Napoleon had previously attempted, by several letters full of feeling and dignity, to move the justice and sensibility of the emperor of Austria, but in vain, though it appeared he had almost persuaded the French people of the certainty of her return. Offers had been several times made to the emperor Napoleon, to bring off the empress and her son privately but he never would listen to any thing of the kind.

During the month of May, Napoleon, having lost all hope of preserving peace, had been meditating upon a plan for the ensuing campaign. Two projects principally engaged his attention. The first was to remain upon the defensive, and by this means to throw the odium of aggression upon the allies. Supposing them to get possession of all the strong places, and to penetrate as far as Lyons or Paris, he would then commence a vigorous and decisive war. Flattering himself that numerous battalions would be continually arriving at Paris, he reckoned that the French force would augment in every quarter, whilst the strength of the allies would diminish. Two hundred and forty thousand men, under such a chief as himself manœuvring on the shores of the Seine and the Marne, under the protection of a vast intrenched camp, guarded by sixteen thousand stationary troops he inferred, must prove victorious against four hundred and fifty thousand of the enemy.

The second plan was, to attack the allies before they could be in readiness to resist him : it would then be necessary to commence the campaign by



the 15th of June, beat the two armies, Anglo-Hollandaise and Prusso-Saxon, then in Belgium, before the Russian, Austrian, Bavarian, and Wirtemberg armies could arrive.

Napoleon hesitated a considerable time, as to the plan he should adopt ; but as an insurrection in La Vendée necessitated him to detach troops from the army of the north, his force was reduced to a hundred and twenty thousand men. These considerations induced him to adopt a third plan, viz. to attack, on the 15th of June, the Anglo-Hollandaise and Prusso-Saxon armies ; to separate and beat them ; or, if he failed, to retire with his army under the walls of Paris. Still he knew that the allies, thus surprised on the 15th of June, would have been in complete readiness by the 1st of July, and that their march upon Paris would be much more rapid after a victory than otherwise ; and that the French army was still much inferior to those under Field-marshal Blucher and the duke of Wellington. But Napoleon also reconnected, that, in the preceding year, 1814, the French, with forty thousand combatants, had faced the army commanded by the same Blucher, and that under Prince Schwartzemberg, where the two emperors of Russia and Austria were present, with the king of Prussia ; that these combined armies, two hundred and forty thousand strong, had been beaten ; that, at the battle of Montmirail, the corps of Sacken, Yorck, and Kleist, forty thousand in number, had been attacked, beaten, and drove beyond the Marne, by sixteen thousand French ; whilst Marshal Blucher, with twenty thousand men, was held in check by the corps under the

duke of Ragusa, consisting of no more than four thousand men ; and that Prince Schwartzenberg's army, of a hundred thousand, was restrained by the corps of the dukes of Reggio and Tarentum, with General Gerard's corps, not exceeding eighteen thousand

## CHAPTER XI.

*State of the Chambers—Opposition to the Views of Napoleon—Effect of his Speech—Reflections—Formation of a Council—Report on the moral State of France—Fouché sold to the Bourbons—Error of Napoleon in employing his former Generals—Proclamation to the Army—Treachery discovered among the officers—Affairs of Charleroi, Marchiennes, Fleurus, Quatre-Bras, Ligny, and St. Amand—Battle of Waterloo—Movements of Marshal Grouchy.*

THE approaching opening of the chambers excited much apprehension in the mind of Napoleon; he could not divest himself of his old prejudices. The remembrance of the former French assemblies haunted his imagination. "He feared," says one of his friends, "that the opposition inherent in representative governments would not be rightly comprehended in France; that it would make a bad impression, and clog the sovereign power!"

At last, tormented by the sudden application of the popular system, and the dispositions which the deputies inspired, he rested all his security on the chamber of peers.

Napoleon hoped that the chamber of deputies would elect his brother Lucien as their president; but, consistent with the new tone of independence which the nation had assumed, their choice fell upon M. Lanjuinais, a person by no means agreeable to the emperor. The chamber was also displeased at not being furnished with the list of the new peers, which Napoleon purposely kept back, to see if they would elect Lucien as their president. M. Dupin maintained, that "the oath to be taken to the sovereign by the nation, to be valid and le-

gitimate, should not be administered by virtue of a decree that emanated from the will of the prince, but by virtue of a law, which is the will of the nation constitutionally expressed." But, though this proposal was rejected, it extorted the confession from Bonaparte, that he perceived with sorrow that the deputies were not disposed to act with him, and that they let no opportunity slip of seeking a quarrel. "I will act," said he, "with them as long as I can; but if they think to make of me a King Log, or a second Louis XVI., they are under a mistake. I am not a man to receive the law from counsellors, or to allow my head to be cut off by factionaries."

On the 7th of June, he opened the chambers, and received the oaths of the peers. His speech made a deep impression on the assembly, and was received with shouts of "Long live the emperor!"

Napoleon, as he had announced, set out to join the army in the night of the 12th of June, and inspected on the way the defensive works carrying on at Soissons and Laon; and on the 13th he arrived at Avesnes. His looks, said one of his retinue, were frequently directed towards Paris. Placed as it were between two fires, he seemed less to fear the enemies he was going to contend with, than those he had left behind him. As it was thought the untoward disposition of the chambers would increase daily, it is possible that Napoleon resolved to commence the war, vainly hoping that fortune would favour his arms, and that victory would reconcile him to the deputies, or supply him with the means of reducing them to order.

The government, during his absence, consisted of a council, composed of Prince Joseph, president;

Prince Lucien ; *ministers*—Prince Cambaceres, the prince of Echmuhl, the duke of Vicenza, the duke of Gaëta, the duke of Decres, the duke of Otranto, Count Mollien, Count Carnot, and others. Napoleon said to them, "To-night I set off: do your duty: the French army and I will do ours. I recommend to you union, zeal, and energy."

It is evident that Napoleon was as far from being completely satisfied with his ministers as he was with the deputies; for, when the duke of Vicenza solicited the favour of attending him to the army. "If I do not leave *you* at Paris," said he, "on whom can I depend?"

The day after his departure, the ministers of the interior and for foreign affairs repaired to the chamber of peers, and M. Carnot laid before them the situation of the emperor and the empire.

On the 17th, a new report, made to the emperor by the minister of police, on the moral state of France, was communicated to the two chambers. "Sire," said this minister, "it is my duty to tell you the whole truth. Our enemies are encouraged by instruments without and supporters within." Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulouse, and the left bank of the Loire, Caen, and other places, were mentioned as highly disaffected. Fouché, who made this traitorous report, was not believed by many of the deputies. They imagined it had been drawn up by order of the emperor, with the intention of alarming them, and rendering them more docile to his will; but Fouché had distorted facts, with the design of giving encouragement to the Bourbons, to whom he was sold, and of intimidating, cooling and dividing the partisans of Napoleon.

The whole army was superb, and full of ardour

but the emperor, a slave to his ancient habits, committed the fault of replacing it under the command of its former chiefs. They were not now the same men, who, full of youth and ambition, were generously prodigal of their lives to acquire rank and fame; but, enriched by the spoils of the enemy, or by Napoleon's bounty, they seemed to trust more to the fortune of their leader than to their own exertions.

At this momentous period, when the French army, with Napoleon at their head, were once more upon the point of crossing the Rubicon, the practice of issuing a proclamation was not omitted. This was dated Avesnes, June 14, and marked with the rapidity, the abruptness, and the greatness of mind peculiar to the emperor: each division and regiment being duly drawn up, it was read at the head of each, as follows:—

“Soldiers! behold the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, which has twice decided the destinies of Europe. It was then as at Austerlitz, as at Wagram. We gave our easy faith to the protestations and oaths of those princes, to whom we left our thrones. These same princes, having leagued among themselves, are now in arms against the independence of France. Let us march to give them the meeting; both they and we are still the same. Soldiers! at Jena, against these same Prussians, we were one against three; and at Montmirail, one against six.

“As many of you as have been prisoners amongst the English, relate to your comrades what you suffered in their prisons and hulks.

“The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, and soldiers of the confederation of the Rhine, la

ment that unhappy force which compels them to obey those princes who are the enemies of justice and liberty. They know the insatiable cupidity of this coalition. They know that these princes have already devoured twelve millions of Poles, a million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians; and thus all the German states of the second order are their next destined prey. Madmen! a moment of prosperity has blinded them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power; if they enter France, they will find in it only their grave.

"Soldiers! we have marches to make, battles to give, and dangers to incur; but with constancy discipline, and a resolution to conquer, the victory will be ours, and the glory and liberty of France will be re-conquered. For all Frenchmen who have a heart, the moment is come to conquer or die."

In the evening, it appeared from the roll-call, that the force of the army amounted to a hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred men, and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.

On the same night, the army, the movements of which the emperor had taken care to conceal, commenced its march; there was no appearance that the enemy had foreseen this event, and every thing promised fair, when he was informed that General Bourmont, Colonels Clouet and Villoutreys, and two other officers, had just gone over to the enemy.

A drum-major, who deserted from the French ranks some hours before General Bourmont and his two companions, was conducted, under an escort, to the head quarters of Field-marshal Blucher at Namur, where he gave the first intelligence of Na

oleon's intended attack. This was confirmed by M. M. de Bourmont, Clouet, and Villoutreys, who added details with which the drum-major could not possibly be acquainted. Thus treachery, or disaffection to Napoleon, was not confined to Paris:

To obviate the ill effects which these desertions were calculated to produce, Napoleon immediately made such alterations as he thought necessary, and then continued his march.

On the 15th, he was at Jumiguan on the Eure: at three o'clock, his army moved in three columns, suddenly debouching at Beaumont, Maubege, and Philippeville. Having arrived at the Sambre, the Prussians that disputed the passage were driven to Charleroi, where the inhabitants saluted the French with continued shouts of "France for ever! Long live the emperor!" During this time, the second corps passed the Sambre at Marchiennes, where the Prussians were again beaten and dispersed, and eventually retired to the heights of Fleurus, where they were broken and annihilated; but they sold the victory dear.

The affairs of Quartre-Bras and Ligny soon followed. Marshal Blucher, conscious that the possession of Ligny would be highly advantageous to the French, commenced a battle, one of the most obstinate mentioned in history. For five hours two hundred pieces of cannon deluged the field with slaughter. All this time the French and Prussians, alternately the vanquished and the victors, disputed this ensanguined post hand to hand, and it was taken and retaken seven times in succession. The smoking ruins of Ligny and St. Amand were heaped with the dead and dying; the ravine before Ligny resembled a river of blood, on which carcasses



were floating. At Quatre-Bras there was a similar spectacle: a hollow way, that skirted the wood, was filled up with the bleeding corpses of the brave Scotch, and French cuirassiers. The imperial guard fought with shouts of "The emperor for ever! No quarter!" General Gerard's corps, having expended all their ammunition, called out for more cartridges and more Prussians. The loss of the Prussians was estimated at 25,000 men, occasioned by the tremendous fire of the French artillery. Blucher, unhorsed by the cuirassiers, escaped them only by a miracle. The prince of Brunswick himself, and a number of officers of distinction, were killed. The French lost near 5000 men and several generals. Prince Jerome, previously wounded at the passage of the Sambre, had his hand slightly grazed by a musket shot. He remained constantly at the head of his division.

At Ligny, the French lost General Gerard, who was mortally wounded, and six thousand five hundred men. The victory of Ligny did not quite satisfy the emperor: he said, "If Marshal Ney had attacked the English with all his forces, he would have crushed them, and he might have come to have given the Prussians the finishing blow. However, the English army was separated from the Prussians; and Napoleon, without losing time, was for attacking the English at day-break; but so many objections were made to his plan, that he consented to let the army repose.

On the 17th, he divided his troops into two columns; one, of sixty-five thousand men, led by Napoleon, followed the English. The light artillery, the lancers of General Colbert and Colonel Sourd kept close after them to the entrance of the forest

of Soignes, where the duke of Wellington took up his position. The other column, thirty-six thousand strong, under Marshal Grouchy, was detached to observe and pursue the Prussians.

The night of the 17th was dreadful, and seemed to presage the calamities of the day. The violent and incessant rain did not allow of a moment's rest to the army. The bad state of the roads hindered the arrival of provisions, and most of the soldiers were without food. The emperor thought that Lord Wellington, separated from the Prussians, would not venture to maintain his position in the forest, and, next morning, was surprised that the English had not quitted their positions, but, on the contrary, were disposed to accept battle. He made several generals reconnoitre the English, and from one of them he learned, that they were defended "by an army of cannons, and mountains of infantry." Napoleon immediately ordered General Grouchy to push the Prussians briskly, and to approach the main army as speedily as possible, as he was probably about to engage in a grand battle. In the meanwhile, Blucher had escaped Grouchy, and opened a communication with Wellington through Ohain. The French officer, who carried the emperor's letter to Grouchy, thought proper to take an immense circuit. In the interval, the officers consulted by the emperor were of different sentiments. Some of the most brave, but more prudent than others, remonstrated that the ground was deluged by rain; that the troops, the cavalry in particular, could not manœuvre, whilst the English army would have the immense advantage of awaiting the French on firm ground in its intrenchments, and that it would be better to en-

endeavour to turn these. The emperor, having heard all, determined to attack the English in front.

During the preceding night, the emperor had given all the necessary orders for the battle of the next day, although many things indicated that it would not take place. In the four days that had elapsed since hostilities had commenced, by a brilliant victory he had surprised and separated the two armies, the English and the Prussians. This was much for his glory, but not enough for the situation in which he was placed. Had it not been for three hours' delay, which his left, under Marshal Ney, had occasioned, in the afternoon of the 17th, he would have attacked Wellington and the allies on that day, which might have crowned the success of the campaign. As it was, the emperor went out on foot, about one in the morning, accompanied by his grand marshal. He visited the whole line of main guards. The forest of Soignes, occupied by the British, appeared like one continued blaze; the horizon between that spot and the farms of La Belle Alliance and La Haye Sainte was brightened with the fires of numerous bivouacks; the most profound silence reigned. The Anglo-Belgian army was wrapped in sleep, owing to the fatigues it had undergone on the four preceding days. Arriving near the wood of Hougomont, he heard the noise of a column in march, which soon ceased, and the rain fell in torrents. Several officers, sent to reconnoitre, and others, who returned to headquarters at half past three, confirmed the opinion that the British had made no movement. At four o'clock, the scouts brought in a peasant, who had served as a guide to a brigade of English cavalry which went to take a position on the left, at the vil

lage of Ohain. Two Belgian deserters, who had just quitted their regiments, reported that their army were preparing for battle, and that no retrograde movement had taken place; that Belgium prayed for the success of the emperor, while the English and the Prussians were equally unpopular there.

The forces shown by the enemy were estimated differently; but the French officers, most accustomed to these calculations, considered them, including the corps of flankers, to amount to ninety thousand men, which agreed with the general accounts that were given. The French army was now only sixty-nine thousand strong, but still victory appeared to be certain. The sixty-nine thousand men were good troops; whereas, in the enemy's army, the English only, amounting to forty thousand at most, could be reckoned as such.

At eight o'clock, the emperor's breakfast was served up: to this many general officers sat down. "The enemy's army," said Napoleon, "is superior to ours by nearly a fourth; there are, notwithstanding, ninety chances in our favour to ten against us."—"Without doubt," said Marshal Ney, who had just entered, "if the duke of Wellington were simple enough to wait for your majesty; but I come to announce, that his columns are already in full retreat, and are disappearing in the forest of Soignes."—"You have seen badly," replied the emperor; "it is too late: he would expose himself to certain ruin by such a step: he has thrown the dice—they are now for us." At this moment some officers of artillery, who had rode over the plain, stated that the artillery could manœuvre, though with difficulty, which would be greatly diminished

in another hour. The emperor mounted immediately, and went to the skirmishers opposite La Haye Sainte. After some moments' reflection, he dictated the order of battle. The army now moved forward, marching in eleven columns, which formed with so much precision, that no confusion whatever arose. The emperor went through the ranks: it would be difficult to express the enthusiasm which animated all the soldiers; the infantry elevated their caps on their bayonets; the cuirassiers, dragoons, and light cavalry, their helmets on their sabres. Meanwhile the emperor gave his last orders, and proceeded, at the head of his guard, to the summit of the six W's, on the heights of Rossomme. From this spot he had a complete view of the two armies, the prospect extending far to the right and left of the field of battle. Marshal Ney obtained the honour of commanding the grand attack of the centre. He sent one of his aids-de-camp to say that every thing was ready. Before giving his final orders, the emperor wished to cast another glance over the whole, and perceived, in the direction of St. Lambert, a dark mass, which appeared to him like troops. Upon this he asked the adjutant-general what he saw near St. Lambert. "I think I see five or six thousand men," replied the general. "It is probably Grouchy." All the glasses of the staff were now fixed in that direction. The weather was rather foggy. Some maintained they were no troops, but merely trees, which were perceived, while others said, columns were in position there.

This state of uncertainty was ended by the order for three thousand light cavalry to effect a junction, if they belonged to Marshal Grouchy, or to keep them in check, if they were not.

mies. In a quarter of an hour, a Prussian black hussar was brought in, who was the bearer of letter, was very intelligent, and gave all the information required. It then appeared, that the column at St. Lambert was the advanced guard of the Prussian General Bulow, who was coming up with thirty thousand men. The duke of Dalmatia immediately despatched the intercepted letter, and the report of the hussar, to Marshal Grouchy, to whom he reiterated the order to march without delay on St. Lambert, and to take General Bulow's corps in the rear. It was now eleven o'clock: the officer had only to proceed four or five leagues to reach Marshal Grouchy, and he promised to be with that officer in an hour. A short time after, General Daumont sent to say, that some well-mounted scouts, that preceded him, had met patrols of the enemy in the vicinity of St. Lambert; and that he had sent chosen patrols, in various directions, to communicate with Marshal Grouchy, for the purpose of conveying orders and reports. The emperor immediately ordered Count Lobau to cross the causeway of Charleroi, and to support the light cavalry towards St. Lambert; choosing a good intermediate position, where he might, with ten thousand men, check thirty thousand Prussians, if necessary, or to attack them briskly the moment he should hear the first cannon-shots of the troops which it was supposed Marshal Grouchy had detached in their rear. These events caused some change in the emperor's first plan of the battle: he was already deprived of ten thousand men, whom he was thus obliged to send against General Bulow. He no longer had any more than fifty-nine thousand men against ninety thousand of the enemy, who

had just been re-enforced by thirty thousand men, and already ranged in the field of battle. "We had ninety chances for us in the morning," said he to the duke of Dalmatia; "the arrival of Bulow makes us lose thirty; but we have still sixty against forty; and, if Grouchy repairs the horrible fault he has committed, by amusing himself at Gembloux, the victory will be thereby the more decisive; for the corps of Bulow must in that case be entirely lost."

It was now noon; the skirmishers were engaged on all the line; but there was no severe action, except on the left, in the wood, and at the castle of Hougoumont. The emperor sent an order to Marshal Ney to commence the fire of his batteries, take possession of the farm of La Haye Sainte, occupy the village, and thus intercept all communication between the enemy and Bulow's corps. Eighty guns soon made an immense havoc over all the left of the English line: one of its divisions was entirely destroyed by round and case-shot. In the meanwhile, the emperor perceived that the English general was preparing a grand charge of cavalry on the left, and he galloped to the spot the charge had been made, and repulsed a column of infantry, which advanced on the low ground, taken two eagles, and disorganized seven pieces of cannon. A brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers being ordered to charge the enemy's horse, they were broken in their turn, and the greatest part of them remained on the field; the guns were retaken, and the infantry protected. Many charges of infantry and cavalry followed; and, after three hours' fighting, the farm of La Haye Sainte, in spite of the resistance of the Scotch regiments, was occupied

by the French infantry. The fifth and sixth English divisions were destroyed. General Picton remained dead on the field. During this combat, the emperor rode through the line of the cuirassiers and that of the guard, in the middle of the discharges of the enemy's musketry and artillery ; the brave General Devaux was killed by his side : General Lallemand succeeded him, and was wounded soon after.

Disorder at this time began to prevail in the English army : the baggage, wagon-train, and wounded, seeing the French approach the causeway of Brussels, and the principal opening of the forest, hastened to effect their retreat : all the English, Belgians, and Germans, who had been sabred by the cavalry, precipitated themselves on Brussels. It was now four o'clock, and victory might then have decided for Napoleon, had not General Bulow's corps effected its powerful diversion. At two o'clock, the emperor learned from Gembloux, that Marshal Grouchy, instead of setting out from that place at dawn of day, had not quitted his camp there at ten o'clock !

As the Prussians now approached, the fire from their field-pieces fell on the causeway in front and rear of La Belle Alliance, where the emperor was standing with his guard ; and the Prussian case-shot ploughed up the ground. The emperor then ordered General Duhesme to advance with the young guard ; in a quarter of an hour their formidable artillery commenced its fire, and soon acquired the superiority ; undulations were observed in the Prussian lines ; but they still continued outflanking the French right, till opposed by Lieutenant General Morand, with four battalions of the old



guard, and sixteen pieces of cannon. General Bulow was repulsed, and by degrees his whole line fell back. It was now seven o'clock.

Two hours had elapsed since the count Saint d'Erlon had taken possession of La Haye Sainte, outflanked all the English left, and the right of General Bulow. The English cavalry, being repulsed by the cuirassiers and the chasseurs of the guard, abandoned all the field of battle between La Haye Sainte and Mount St. Jean, which the whole of their left had occupied, and were deprived of all means of retreat on the right. On seeing these brilliant charges, cries of victory were heard all over the field, upon which the emperor said, "It is too soon by an hour but we must support what is done." He then sent an order to the cuirassiers of Kellerman, who were on the left, to move briskly to support the cavalry on the low grounds. At this moment, General Bulow threatened the flank and rear of the army; it was important not to make any retrograde motion, but to maintain this position, though prematurely taken. At this critical moment, the rapid advance of three thousand cuirassiers, defiling under the cannonade of the Prussians, and shouting "Live the emperor!" made a happy diversion. The cavalry advanced as if in pursuit of the English army; but the army of General Bulow still made some progress on the French flank and rear. The soldiers and officers sought to divine in the look of the chief, whether they were conquerors or in danger, while he breathed nothing but confidence. It was the fiftieth regular battle in which Napoleon had commanded within twenty years. In the mean time, the division of the heavy cavalry of the guard, in the second line, under General Guyot,

behind Kellerman's cuirassiers, folk wed at a brisk trot to the low ground. On perceiving this movement the emperor sent Count Bertrand to recall it *for it was his reserve* ; but it was too late, and a retrograde movement was still dangerous. Thus was the emperor deprived of his reserve of cavalry ever since five o'clock. This reserve, if properly applied, might have given him the victory : still these twelve thousand select horse performed prodigies of valour ; overthrew all the more numerous cavalry of the enemy, broke through many squares of infantry, disorganized their ranks, took possession of sixty pieces of cannon, and seized six stands of colours in the midst of the squares. These colours were presented to the emperor at Belle Alliance, by three chasseurs of the guard and three cuirassiers. The English believed the battle lost a second time. Ponsonby's brigade, being charged by the red lancers of the guard, commanded by General Colbert, was broken through, and its general overthrown by several lance wounds. The prince of Orange was severely wounded, and on the point of being taken : but, the brave cavalry not being supported, as a strong mass of infantry was still necessary to repel General Bulow's attack, they were obliged to confine themselves to the preservation of the field of battle, which had been conquered.

About seven o'clock, when Bulow's division was repulsed, the cavalry still keeping its ground, the victory was gained ; sixty-nine thousand French had beaten one hundred and twenty thousand men : joy was in every countenance, and hope in every heart.

But this state of exultation was not to continue the Prussian marshal Blucher was rapidly approach

ing the scene of action with thirty thousand fresh troops. Wellington, who was in full retreat, now halted. This general had been in the utmost despair, often wishing "that either night or the Prussians would come;" but now, instead of defeat, he saw his safety. The brigade of English cavalry, which was at Ohain, also joined him; while the French saw the victory snatched out of their hands by the arrival of Marshal Blücher, with thirty thousand fresh troops, which increased the allied army in line to nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men; that is to say, in a proportion of two and a half against one. Perceiving these numerous columns arrive, some regiments made a retrograde movement: the emperor perceived this: it was of the highest importance to restore firmness to the cavalry; and, seeing that it would take him a quarter of an hour more to rally his guard, he put himself at the head of four battalions, and advanced on the left in front of La Haye Sainte, sending aids de-camp along the whole line to cheer the troops, by pretending that Marshal Grouchy had arrived, and that with a little firmness victory would be restored. But, in a word, all the efforts of the French were useless; the plain, of which they had been in possession, was soon inundated by the enemy; La Haye was retaken, and two thousand English cavalry penetrated between General Reille and the guard. The disorder now became dreadful throughout the field of battle. The emperor put himself under the protection of one of the squares of his troops. The night greatly augmented the disorder. If the troops could have seen the emperor, they might have rallied; whereas nothing could be done with certainty. The guard retreated; the fire of

the enemy was only four hundred toises in the rear of the army, and the causeways were cut off. Four pieces of cannon, which were planted there, kept up a brisk fire upon the plain; the last discharge wounded Lord Uxbridge. The emperor could not retreat except through the fields: there was no time to be lost: cavalry, artillery, infantry, were all confusedly mingled together. The staff, only, gained the little town of Gemappe, hoping to be able to rally a rear-guard there: but the disorder was horrible; all its efforts were made in vain. It was now eleven o'clock.

The allies, according to their own accounts, lost sixty thousand men, viz. eleven thousand three hundred English; three thousand five hundred Hanoverians; eight thousand Belgians, troops of Nassau, Brunswick, &c.: the loss of the Anglo-Belgian army amounted to twenty-two thousand eight hundred; to which add thirty-eight thousand Prussians; this makes a general total of sixty thousand eight hundred men. The losses of the French, including those during the route, and till their arrival at Paris, were nearly forty thousand.

Independent of the fault on the part of Grouchy, in not coming up to the field of battle, the French accounts allow, "that many other causes had great influence upon the fortunes of that day. In other times, the French, though so inferior in number would have gained the victory; which, indeed the obstinate and unyielding bravery of the English troops *alone* prevented them from containing."

At the most critical juncture of this battle, when the irresistible firmness of the British had been put to the severest test, the army, who, with the general himself, had begun to doubt the fortune of the day

as one of the English writers observed, "were suddenly and unexpectedly cheered by hearing the sound of the Prussian cannon." It was also remarked, that the French had retired from the last attack in confusion, and therefore the duke of Wellington immediately advanced with the whole line of his infantry and cavalry, and, attacking the enemy in his turn, succeeded in forcing him from the heights before in his possession, while the Prussians, under Marshal Blucher, were equally active and successful on the enemy's flank. About nine o'clock, the French gave up the field, leaving behind them, as far as Lord Wellington could judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with ammunition, &c.

A French author relates, that, at the close of the battle of Waterloo, when the charge made by Napoleon had failed, and the English charged in their turn, some of their cavalry, with some tirailleurs, approached within a hundred and fifty toises of where the emperor was standing, with only Soult, Drouot, Bertrand, and himself. Close to them was a small French battalion, drawn up in a square. Some shots from two or three field-pieces, discharged to drive away the English cavalry, which still continued to approach, carried away the Marquis of Anglesea's leg. Napoleon then placed himself with the column, and wanted to charge, exclaiming, "*Il faut mourir ici ; il faut mourir sur le champ de bataille*—We must die here ; we must die on the field of battle !"—The English were still firing at them, and they expected every moment to be charged. Soult, laying hold of Napoleon's bridle, exclaimed, that he would not be killed, but taken prisoner ; and finally, with the others, compelled

him to leave the field. Napoleon was so fatigued, that, on the road to Gemappe, he would have frequently fallen from his horse, had he not been supported by General Gorgaud and two other persons, who were his only attendants for some time.

Of the melancholy catastrophe of this battle, we have also the following account : " One last battalion of reserve, the illustrious and unfortunate remains of the granite column of Marengo, had remained unshaken. The emperor retired into the ranks of these brave men, still commanded by Cambron. He formed them into a square, and advanced at their head to meet the enemy. All his generals, Ney, Soult, Bertrand, Drouot, Corbineau, Flahaut, Labedoyère, Gorgaud, &c. drew their swords, and became soldiers. The old grenadiers, incapable of fear for their own lives, conjured the emperor to withdraw : ' Retire,' said one of them ; ' Death shuns you.' The officers around him seized his bridle, and dragged him away. Cambron and his brave men crowded round their expiring eagles, and bade Napoleon an eternal adieu. The English, moved by their heroic resistance, conjured them to surrender. ' No,' said Cambron ; ' the guard can die, but not yield.' At the same time they all rushed on the enemy with shouts of, ' Long live the emperor !' The English and Prussians, from whom they still detained the palm of victory, united against this band of heroes, and cut them down. Some, covered with wounds, fell to the ground weltering in their blood ; others, more fortunate were killed outright ; in fine, those whose hope were not answered by death, shot one another, that they might not survive their companions in arms, or die by the hands of their enemies "

Respecting Marshal Grouchy, it appears, that, conformably to the first orders given him, he confined himself to observing the Prussians. On the 18th, at nine in the morning, he quitted his cantonments, to march to Wavres. When he reached Walkain, he heard the cannonading at Mont St. Jean. Its continually increasing briskness left no doubt that it was an extremely serious affair. General Excelmans proposed to march towards the guns by the right bank of the Dyle. "Do you not feel," said he to the marshal, "that the firing makes the ground tremble under our feet? Let us march straight toward where they are fighting." But the marshal continued his slow movements, and at two o'clock arrived before Wavres. At seven o'clock, he received, according to his own account, the order from the major-general to march to St. Lambert, and attack Bulow, which step ought to have been suggested to him, before that time, by the tremendous cannonading at Waterloo, and by the order, given in the first despatch received in the morning, to draw near to the grand army. On the 22d, the whole of Grouchy's corps was assembled at Rocroi; on the 24th, it formed a junction with the wreck of the army of Waterloo, and, on the 25th, it marched from Rheims to the capital.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Arrival of Napoleon at Paris—His Embarrassment and Despondency—His Enemies among the Deputies—The Chamber declares itself in a State of Permanence—Hostility between the Emperor and the Chambers—Agrees to abdicate—Declaration to the French People, proclaiming Napoleon II. Emperor of the French—Marshal Grouchy's Army enters France—Napoleon removes to Malmaison—Arrives at Rochefort—Goes on board the Bellerophon—Arrives at Plymouth—His Protest against the Violation of his Liberty—Goes on board the Northumberland—His Conduct—Affection of the Empress Marie Louise.*

ON Napoleon's arrival at Paris, he went to the Elyseum, where he was received by the duke of Vicenza, his censor in prosperity, his friend in adversity. He appeared sinking under grief and fatigue: his breast was affected; his respiration difficult. After a painful sigh, he said to the duke, "The army performed prodigies; a panic terror seized it; all was lost. Ney conducted himself like a madman; he got my cavalry massacred for me. I can say no more; I must have two hours' rest, to enable me to set about business; I am choking here;" and he laid his hand upon his heart. After having ordered a bath, and a few moments' silence, he said, "My intention is to assemble the two chambers in an imperial sitting, and demand from them the means of saving the country." The duke of Vicenza informed him that the deputies appeared more hostile than ever; that he was sorry to see him in Paris; that it would have been better not to have separated from the army.—"I have no longer an army," said the emperor. "I have nothing but fugitives. I shall find



men, but I have no muskets left. I think you have formed a wrong judgment of the deputies; the majority is good; only Lafayette, Lanjuinais, Flauguerge, and a few others, are against me."—The arrival of the princes Joseph and Lucien interrupted the emperor. They confirmed the duke of Vicenza's opinion of the disaffection of the chamber, and advised Napoleon to postpone the assembling of an imperial session.

Whilst he was in the bath, the ministers and great officers of state hastened to the Elyseum, anxiously questioning the aids-de-camp and officers who had returned with Napoleon. They told the whole truth; said that it was all over with the emperor, and that France could only be saved by his abdication.

Soon after assembling his council, he said to Count Regnault, "Speak plainly; it is my abdication they want, is it not?"—"I believe so, sire: painful as it is to me, it is my duty to open your majesty's eyes to your true situation. It is even possible, that, if you should not resolve to offer it of your own accord, the chamber would venture to demand your abdication."

Prince Lucien proposed dispensing with the chamber, and that Napoleon should declare himself dictator, in which he was seconded by Carnot. The emperor, interposing, said he did not fear the deputies: do what they might, he would still be the idol of the people and the army. A single word from him would cause all the deputies to be knocked on the head. "But while I fear nothing on my own account, I fear every thing for France."

Whilst Napoleon was flattering himself that the opinions of his ministers, previously divided, were

upon the point of coming to a favourable issue, the council was interrupted by a message from the chamber of representatives, declaring that the independence of the nation was threatened; that the chamber was in a state of permanence, and that any attempt to dissolve it should be considered high treason; that the army of the line, and national guard, who had fought, and still fought, had deserved well of their country. The ministers of war, of foreign affairs, and of the interior, were so desirous to repair immediately to the assembly. It was evident that the whole of these articles were an usurpation of the sovereign authority. The emperor now, for the first time, saw his error. "I was right," said he, "in thinking that I ought to dismiss those fellows before I departed; it is all over; they are upon the point of ruining France." He broke up the sitting, saying, "*If it must be so, I will abdicate.*"

At length the ministers, with Prince Lucien at their head, were introduced into the chamber of deputies. The prince announced himself as commissioner extraordinary, bearing the emperor's message, which contained a brief sketch of the disasters experienced at Mont St. Jean, and suggested the formation of a committee of five members from each of the chambers, to concert with ministers the proper measures for securing the public safety, and treating for a peace with the combined powers. The ministers were overwhelmed with questions as absurd as they were arrogant, from all the deputies who had risen. M. Henry Lacoste was able, after many unsuccessful attempts, to make himself heard. "The veil, then, is torn," said he; "our misfortunes are made known. You talk to us of

peace ; but what new basis will you give to your negotiations ? You know, as well as we, that Europe has declared war against Napoleon alone. Will you henceforth separate the nation from Napoleon ? For my part, I declare I see but one man between us and peace. Let him speak, and the country will be saved." This was plain enough for the abdication, and called up Prince Lucien and others, who accused the allies of endeavouring to separate the nation from Napoleon, in order to vanquish and subdue it. The friends of Napoleon seemed as if they would gain a majority in his favour, when M. de Lafayette, obtaining a hearing, said,—“You accuse us of failing in our duties towards Napoleon. Have you forgotten all that we have done for him ; that we followed him in the sands of Africa, and in the deserts of Russia ; and that the bones of our sons and brothers every where attest our fidelity ?”—A number of voices were now heard together in confusion, accusing or defending Napoleon ; but at length it was agreed, that a committee of five members should be formed, to concert measures with ministers. Prince Lucien afterwards obtained the same concession from the chamber of peers. It is sufficient to add, that, after Napoleon had said, the chambers “dare not” compel him to abdicate, he sent them word, “that, if he were an obstacle to the nation’s being admitted to treat of its independence, he should always be ready to make the sacrifice required of him.”

Importunities on this subject assailed the emperor from all his friends. Prince Lucien, who had never ceased to advise him to make head against the storm, was now joined by Prince Joseph, and both agreed that the time was passed, and that it was

necessary to submit. The resistance of the emperor was overcome, and, with an ironical smile, he said to the duke of Otranto, "Write to those gentlemen to make themselves easy : they shall soon be satisfied."

Prince Lucien then took up the pen, and wrote, from the dictation of his brother, the following

DECLARATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE :

"In commencing a war to maintain the independence of the nation, I reckoned on the joint efforts of all, the unanimity of all, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. From these, I had reason to hope for success, and I set at defiance all the declarations of the foreign powers against me.

"Circumstances appear to be changed : I offer up myself as a sacrifice to the animosity of the enemies of France : may they prove themselves sincere in their declarations, and that they really aimed at me, personally, alone ! My political life is at an end : and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., emperor of the French.

"The present ministers will form provisionally the council of government. The interest I feel in what concerns my son, induces me to desire the chambers to form a new regency without delay by a law.

"Unite, all of you, for the public safety, and to remain an independent nation.

(Signed) "NAPOLÉON

*'Palace of the Elyseum,  
June the 22d, 1815.'*

When this declaration was sent to the chambers Fouché, the duke of Otranto, who had been one of the greatest intriguers, recommended Napoleon to their attention and protection. In return, they sent him a deputation, expressing the respect and gratitude with which they accepted the noble sacrifice he had made to the independence and happiness of the French people. These congratulations were coldly received. The chamber of peers followed the example of the deputies; and the emperor recommended to them not to forget that he had abdicated only in favour of his son.

Just after the abdication had been made known, the army of Marshal Grouchy, which was supposed to have been destroyed, entered France; and it appeared that Prince Jerome, Marshal Soult, Generals Morand, Colbert, and others, had succeeded in rallying the wreck of Waterloo, and formed a body of fifty or sixty thousand men, whose sentiments in favour of Napoleon had undergone no alteration.

Whilst the chamber of deputies continued to discuss a number of questions, without coming to any specific conclusions, Fouché began to be uneasy at Napoleon's residence being so near them as the Elyseum. His party first requested that the chamber should require the ex-emperor, in the name of the country, to remove from the capital; but, this having no effect, endeavours were made to frighten him, by suggestions that attempts were making against his life. It is acknowledged that nothing could have been more easy than to carry off or assassinate Napoleon. His palace, which, a few days before, could scarcely contain the crowd of ambitious men and servile courtiers, soon became a

vast solitude. Even his guard had been reduced to a few old grenadiers, whilst a single sentinel, scarcely in uniform, watched his gate. But, lest his residing in an imperial palace might cause the sincerity of his abdication to be called in question, Napoleon himself-determined to remove.

On the 25th, at noon, Napoleon set off for Malmaison, where he was received by the princess Hortensia. Her situation and that of her brother must have wounded her to the heart, yet she found sufficient strength of mind to suppress her sorrows, and console Napoleon's attendants. "Restraining her own tears," said M. Fleury, "she reminded us, with the wisdom of a philosopher and the sweetness of an angel, that we should submit with docility to the decrees of Providence."

At Malmaison, Napoleon, in a great measure recovered his spirits, activity and energy, and he could not suppress his desire of sending an address to the brave soldiers of the army before Paris, dated Malmaison, June 25th, 1815, and concluding—"Yet a few efforts, and the coalition is dissolved." This address the government would not allow to be published in the *Moniteur*.

The complaints, the regrets, the threats, that escaped Napoleon every day, alarmed the promoters of his fall more and more. Upon reflection they turned pale at the name of Napoleon, and solicited the government, night and day, to make him embark as soon as possible. His first intention was to go to England, and there place himself under the protection of hospitality and the laws. The advice of others induced him to incline to the United States. An American captain at Havre had been completely gained; and several Ameri

eans at Paris wrote to him, of their own accord, to offer their services, and assure him, in the name of their fellow-citizens, that he would be received at Washington with the sentiments of respect, admiration, and devotion, that were his due; but Napoleon refused these offers; though he would have accepted of two frigates from the French government, to have conveyed him to America, provided they would place them at his disposal, with necessary passports and safe conducts from Lord Wellington; but it seems the French government was not desirous at bottom of letting Napoleon depart. In fact, he was a prisoner at Malmaison, from the time that General Count Beker, a member of the chamber of deputies, was named commander of the emperor's guard, and directed to Malmaison to watch over the conservation of the person of Napoleon, and to prevent ill-disposed persons from making use of his name to excite disturbances. When Count Beker first came there, it was supposed he had orders to arrest Napoleon; and Gorgaud and some officers swore no one should lay a hand on him. However, this officer had already explained the nature of his mission; and the emperor ordered his attendants to pay General Beker a proper respect. It is said he knew perfectly well how to reconcile his duty with the attentions that were due to Napoleon. Still the princess Hortensia was so affected by this circumstance, that she exclaimed, "O, my God!" lifting her eyes to heaven, "was I born to see the emperor a prisoner to the French at Malmaison?"

Thus Napoleon remained at Malmaison, almost alone, till the minister of marine came to inform him that the enemy were at Compeigne, and that the com-

mittee, apprehensive for his safety, requested him to depart *incog*. He promised to depart; but, when he heard the distant sound of cannon, his whole body thrilled, and he lamented, in a tone of despair, that he was condemned to remain far from the field of battle. He ordered General Beker to be called, and prevailed on him to go to Paris, and convey a letter to the government, offering to take the command of the army, and beat the enemy; not that he intended to seize the sovereign power, but to pursue his journey as soon as victory should have given a favourable turn to the negotiations with foreign powers. The duke of Otranto read the letter of Napoleon aloud, and exclaimed, "Is he laughing at us!" His proposal was rejected; though it is clear that he had different expectations, having ordered his chargers to be saddled immediately after Beker's departure. When he returned to Malmaison, the emperor snatched the answer of the committee out of his hand, and, after reading it, exclaimed, "I was sure of it; these people have no energy. Well, general, since it is so, let us be gone." He then despatched M. de Flahaut to Paris, to concert measures for his departure. The prince of Echmuhl was at the Tuilleries when M. de Flahaut arrived. "This Bonaparte of yours," said he, in a tone of anger and contempt, "will not depart: but we must get rid of him. Tell him from me, that he must go, and that if he do not depart immediately, I will arrest him myself." M. de Flahaut, fired with indignation, answered, "I could not have believed, M. Marshal, that a man, who was at the knees of Napoleon a week ago, could, to-day, hold such language. I have too much respect for the person and misfortunes of the empe



ror, to report to him your words:—go yourself, M. Marshal.” When De Flahaut returned, the emperor easily divined that something had cut him to the quick and, being told, with some reluctance, all that had passed he said, “Remain in the army, and, like me, forget the prince of Echmuhl and his dastardly menaces.”

After Napoleon had spent several days in listening to the various proposals of his friends, as to where he should go, he at length resolved to intrust his fate “to fortune and to the winds.” But the committee, advised by a despatch from the French plenipotentiaries, “that the escape of Napoleon before the conclusion of the negotiations would be considered as an act of bad faith,” informed him that he must wait anew the arrival of the safe conduct. Thus he was obliged to remain.

M. Fleury then went to Paris, and learned that the Prussians designed to carry off the emperor; that Blucher had said, “If I can catch Bonaparte, I will hang him up at the head of my army;” and that Wellington had strenuously opposed this cowardly design. The emperor, after this, took some measures to secure himself against a surprise; but they were needless; the friends that were about his person would have shed their last drop of blood in his defence.

At half after three in the morning, he was informed that Lord Wellington had refused the safe conducts, and he was consequently obliged to depart immediately. When all was ready, he pressed the princess Hortensia to his bosom, and tenderly embraced his friends, melting into tears; but his demeanour was firm, his voice calm, and his countenance serene.

On the 29th of June, at five in the afternoon, he threw himself into a carriage prepared for his suite, and made General Gorgaud and his orderly officers take that intended for himself. His eyes were several times turned to that last abode, so long the witness of his happiness and power.

When they left Malmaison, Las Cases and part of the emperor's suite took the road to Rochefort by Tours. On the 1st of July, they passed through Limoges; and, on the 2d, dined at Rochefaucault and reached Jarnac about seven, at which place they were detained all night and part of the next day, by the ill will and misconduct of the postmaster, so that they were obliged to proceed full speed to Cognac. On reaching Saintes, towards eleven o'clock, they were dreadfully annoyed by some furious miscreants collected by an officer of the royal guard, whom Napoleon's return from Elba had displaced. This person had prepared an ambuscade, and, it was understood, would have assassinated Napoleon or his attendants, had they not been rescued by a part of the national guard, who conducted them as prisoners to an inn. Here some of the most distinguished inhabitants, and, above all, the women, were the most outrageous in calling out for vengeance. In the evening the face of affairs had changed almost to the opposite extreme. Prince Joseph, arriving at Saintes, increased the agitation: he was arrested, and conducted to the prefecture, but otherwise very respectfully treated.

On the 3d, in the evening, the emperor reached Rochefort, where he no longer wore a military dress: he lived at the prefect's house, about which numbers of people were constantly assembled. He appeared two or three times at the balcony

numerous proposals were made to him by generals who came in person, and others who sent emissaries. On the 8th, in the evening, the emperor proceeded to Fourras, followed by the acclamations of the people wherever he appeared.

On the 30th of June, the chambers were informed that the enemy was within sight of the capital; and a suspension of arms, requested from Lord Wellington, was refused, under the pretext that Napoleon Bonaparte was in Paris, and at *liberty*. After Lord Wellington had been informed of the departure of Bonaparte, he excused the granting of an armistice till he had conferred with Prince Blücher.

On the 2d of July, a council having been called to decide peremptorily upon the defence or surrender of Paris, it was agreed, unanimously, to deliver it into the hands of the allies, since the allies would not suspend hostilities upon any other condition. The French army, as agreed upon, began its march beyond the banks of the Loire. When the French plenipotentiaries received their dismissal from the head-quarters of the allies at Hagenuau, the note that conveyed it to them contained the following passage: "The three powers consider it as an essential condition of peace and real tranquillity, that Napoleon Bonaparte shall be incapable of disturbing the repose of France and of Europe for the future; and, in consequence of the events that occurred in the month of March last, *the powers must insist that Napoleon Bonaparte be placed in their custody.*"

On the 7th of July, at five in the afternoon, several Prussian battalions surrounded the palace where the government was sitting, and they were

compelled to separate. On the 8th, Louis XVIII, in triumph, took possession of his capital and his throne. On the same day, the emperor, who had been some time at Rochefort, went on board the frigate La Saale, prepared to receive him. His suite was put on board the Medusa. On the 9th, the two vessels anchored at the Isle of Aix. Napoleon, who could not leave off acting the emperor ordered the garrison under arms, and praised or blamed, as if he had still been sovereign master of the state.

On the 10th, an English fleet of eleven vessels were cruising within sight of the port. On the 11th, Napoleon sent to inquire of the English admiral, whether he was authorized to allow him liberty to repair to England, or to the United States? The answer was, "that he was ready to receive Napoleon, and convey him to England." Unsatisfied with this answer, Napoleon had some idea of going on board an American vessel at the mouth of the Gironde, whose captain would have been happy and proud to have received him. He refused the proffered assistance of some young midshipmen, full of courage and devotion, who, with two barks, swore they would forfeit their lives if they did not convey him to New York. On the 14th of July, having given up the idea of attempting the passage to America, he caused the English admiral to be informed, that, on the following day, he would come on board his vessel. On the 15th, in the morning he went off in the brig L'Epervier, and was received on board the Bellerophon with the honours due to his rank. Yet, when General Beker came alongside with him, he could not help saying, "Withdraw general: I would not have it believed that a French

man is come to deliver me into the hands of my enemies." On the 16th, the Bellerophon set sail for England.

The emperor had prepared a letter to the prince regent, which General Gorgaud was directed to carry to him immediately. It was as follows:—

*"Rochefort, July 13, 1815.*

"ROYAL HIGHNESS,

"Exposed to the factions that distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself on the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of its laws, which I claim of your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies."

General Gorgaud had orders to make known to the prince, that it was Napoleon's intention to retire into any of the counties of England, and live peaceably and unknown, under the name of Colonel Duroc.

When he arrived at Plymouth, he was not permitted to land, but was soon informed that the allied powers had decided that he should be treated as a prisoner of war, and be confined at St. Helena. He protested in vain against this violation of his most sacred rights, his liberty, and his person, but finally submitted with calm and majestic resignation.

On the 24th of July, the Bellerophon arrived at Torbay, and, on the 26th, Napoleon sailed to Plymouth, preparatory to his embarkation on board the Northumberland, commanded by Admiral Cockburn.

destined to sail to St. Helena, from which vessel he despatched the following protest to Lord Keith, against his removal to that island:—

“I SOLEMNLY protest, in the face of Heaven and of all men, against the violation of every sacred right towards me, since it is by force that my person and my liberty are disposed of. I voluntarily delivered myself up to the *Bellerophon*: I am therefore no prisoner, but the guest of England.

“Once embarked on board the *Bellerophon*, I was under the safeguard of the English people. If the government, when issuing orders to the commander of the vessel to receive me, with all my retinue; only sought to entrap me, it has broken the ties of honour; and disgraced the British flag.

“If this order is to be put into effect, in vain will the English, henceforth, proclaim their integrity their laws, and their liberty to Europe: hospitality thus violated on board the *Bellerophon* must for ever compromise the good faith of England.

“I appeal, therefore, to history, which will record that an enemy, who, for twenty years, made war upon the British nation, came freely, in his misfortune, to demand an asylum under the safeguard of their laws. What proof more striking could be given of his esteem and his confidence? But in what manner have the English replied?—They tendered the hand of hospitality to that enemy; and, when he delivered himself up, they sacrificed him!!!

“*On board the Bellerophon at Sea,*  
*4th of August, 1815.*

(Signed)

NAPOLÉON.”

Napoleon heard of the decision of the British council respecting him, through the medium of the newspapers, before it was officially announced to him; and at first his rage and mortification were extreme. The official communication was made to him by Sir Henry Bunbury on the 2d of August; and at the same time he was informed, that four of his friends, (with their families,) to be chosen by himself, and twelve of his domestics, would be allowed to attend him into exile. In vain he protested against these measures in the most emphatic manner. On Friday, the 4th of August, the *Bellerophon* sailed from Torbay, to meet the *Northumberland* off Berry-head; and, on the Sunday following, Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn proceeded on board the former ship, to settle with Napoleon the exact period of his intended removal. The ceremony, with which the fallen emperor had hitherto been treated, was now to be discontinued; and the admiral, in approaching him, simply pulled off his hat, and said, "How do you do, *General Bonaparte*?" Surprised at being thus saluted, Napoleon hesitated an instant, and then replied to the inquiry in a slight and laconic manner.

After a long expostulation against the perfidy and injustice practised against him, he concluded by a peremptory refusal to quit the ship. Lord Keith, in reply, observed, that he acted under the orders of his government, and that he hoped he should not be under the necessity of using coercive measures.—"No, no," replied Napoleon; "you command; I must obey. You may take me; but remember, I do not go with my own free will." He then presented to his lordship a formal protest in

writing, in the presence of several witnesses, and appointed the hour of ten next morning to be taken on board the Northumberland. About half-past eleven, on Monday morning, Lord Keith and his attendants came along-side the Bellerophon in the barge. As soon as the baggage was removed, the parting scene commenced; and the separation was truly affecting. All wept; but Marshal Savary and a Polish colonel appeared most deeply affected. The Pole had accompanied Bonaparte through many of his campaigns, and had received seventeen wounds in his service. He clung to his knees, and requested Lord Keith's permission to attend his master, even in the most menial capacity; but the orders of government were peremptory, and this brave officer's request could not possibly be complied with.

Count Bertrand, his wife, and three children; the Count and Countess Montholon, Count Las Cases, and General Gorgaud, with nine men and three woman servants, remained with Bonaparte. Marshal Savary and General L'Allemand were left behind in the Bellerophon, to be sent to Malta; and the remainder of his suite were put on board the Eurotas frigate. M. Maingault, the surgeon of Napoleon, was the only one of his attendants who refused to accompany him, and his place was most fortunately supplied by Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon of the Bellerophon. During the transshipment from the barge, Napoleon exhibited no symptoms of despondency, but, on the contrary, appeared more cheerful than usual. He mounted the side of the vessel with the activity of a seaman, and, advancing to Sir George Cockburn, he said



"Admiral, I once more protest against the injustice of your country;" and soon after joined in a kind of general conversation.

Whilst on board the *Northumberland*, it was observed, he stamped the usual impression on every one there, as elsewhere, of his being an extraordinary man. Nothing escaped his notice; his eyes were in every place, and on every object, from the greatest to the most minute. All the general regulations of the service, from the lord high admiral to the seamen—their duties, views, expectations, pay, rank, and comforts, were scanned with characteristic keenness and rapidity. The machinery of the ship—blocks, masts, yards, ropes, rigging, and every thing else—underwent a similar scrutiny. He sent for the boatswain, who, in the French service, usually fits out the ship, to learn the minutest particulars. By his desire, the marines passed in review on the quarter-deck. He examined their arms, dress, and evolutions, with attention, and expressed himself highly satisfied. The grog, tobacco, clothes, food, pay, prize-money, and routine of duty of the seamen, were equally inquired into. When informed that the necessities were supplied by a purser or commissary, he jocularly remarked, they were sometimes sad rogues.

The ill-fated Marie Louise remained devotedly attached to Napoleon. When he had surrendered himself to England, she applied to learning the English language, with the apparent hope of passing her days with him in this country. Disappointed in that expectation, after he had sailed from Plymouth, she cherished his remembrance by frequent visits to a romantic valley in the neighbourhood of Vienna, called by the same name as the place

f his deportation, St. Helena. In November, 1815, she made a voyage, on board an English vessel, to Porto Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba. After having announced, that the only motive that induced her to come to the island was the desire to visit the house which had been occupied by her husband, Napoleon, she landed, with all her suite, and proceeded directly to the place of her pilgrimage, which she visited with a sort of religious attention and devotion, observing every thing in the minutest detail, and particularly Napoleon's chamber. Arrived in the saloon, she perceived his portrait, and, stopping before it, she said, "Napoleon, I salute thee ; I have had, and shall preserve all my life, the greatest esteem for thee." The illustrious lady then passed into the billiard-room, and, some one having presented to her the cue with which he used to play, she signified her desire to have it, and to enclose it in a box as a precious memento. The next day, she returned, and dined at his habitation, where she passed the night. At her departure she appeared satisfied with all that she had seen, and very contented with her voyage

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Napoleon on his Voyage to St. Helena—Arrival—Descriptions of the Emperor's Residence at the Briars, at Longwood, &c.—Treatment of Napoleon by Sir Hudson Lowe—Visit of Lord Amherst to Napoleon at St. Helena—Napoleon's great Reliance on the Justice of the Prince Regent—Letters from Count Bertrand to Las Cases, on the Conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, and the Treatment of the Emperor's Attendants—Note written by Napoleon in the Margin of Sir Thomas Read's Letter.*

THE course of the Northumberland was shaped to cross the Bay of Biscay, and double Cape Finisterre. The wind was fair, though light, and, for a long time, nothing could be more dull or monotonous than the time passed by Napoleon and his attendants. The emperor breakfasted in his own cabin at any hour, but his suite took theirs at ten, in the French style; while the English continued to breakfast in their own way at eight.

The emperor sent for one of his suite every morning, to know what was going on; as the distance the ship had run, the state of the wind, and other particulars connected with the ship's progress. He read a great deal, dressed at four o'clock, and then came into the general cabin: here he played at chess with one of the party. About five, it was generally announced from the admiral that dinner was ready. Napoleon's two valets stood behind his chair. At first, the admiral was in the habit of offering to help the emperor, but the acknowledgment of Napoleon was expressed so coldly, that this practice was discontinued. The admiral still remained attentive afterwards, but only pointed out

to the servants what was preferable: they alone were employed in these matters. Napoleon was generally silent; and even when French was spoken, he seemed as if unacquainted with it: if he spoke, it was to ask some technical or scientific question, and to address a few words to persons whom the admiral occasionally asked to dinner. Count Las Cases was mostly employed to translate Napoleon's questions into English.

The long dinner time of the English, occupied by the dessert, drinking, and conversing, was so disagreeable to the emperor, that, after the first day, he rose immediately after coffee had been handed round, and went out on deck, followed by Marshal Bertrand and Count Las Cases. This disconcerted the admiral, who took occasion to express his surprise to his officers; but Madame Bertrand, whose maternal tongue was English, rather warmly replied, "Do not forget, admiral, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world; and that kings once contended for the honour of being admitted to his table."—"Very true," rejoined the admiral; and this officer, whom Napoleon often praised for his humanity and good sense, did his utmost, ever after, to accommodate the emperor in his habits. He shortened the time of sitting at table, ordering coffee for Napoleon and his suite, even before the rest of the company had finished their dinner. The moment Napoleon had taken his coffee, he rose to leave the cabin; upon which every one stood up till he had quitted the room, and then continued to take their wine for another hour.

The emperor, after dinner, would remain walking upon deck with one or two attendants: this be

came a regular practice.—Whilst Las Cases was walking with the emperor, at the usual hour, one day, in the stern gallery, Napoleon drew from under his waistcoat, still conversing on a totally different subject, a kind of girdle, which he handed to Las Cases, saying, "Take care of that for me." Without interrupting him, Las Cases placed it under his own waistcoat. The emperor told him soon after, that it contained a diamond necklace, worth two hundred thousand francs, which Queen Hortensia forced him to accept when he left Malmaison in 1815. After they arrived at St. Helena, Las Cases frequently spoke to Napoleon of returning the necklace, but never received any reply. Having mentioned the subject again at Longwood, Napoleon dryly asked, "Does it annoy you?" "No, sire," was the reply. "Keep it, then," said he. From wearing the girdle so long, Las Cases thought so little about it, that it was not till some days after he had been torn from Longwood, that it recurred to his memory. He could not bear the idea of depriving the emperor of such a resource: still he was in the most rigorous confinement, surrounded by gaolers and sentinels. He knew not whom to trust. At last an Englishman, to whom he had often spoken, came to the prison on a particular errand, and Las Cases, being determined to run all risks, addressing this Englishman, said he thought he was a man of principle, and added, "I am going to put it to the test, though in nothing injurious, or contrary to your honour—merely a rich deposit to be restored to Napoleon. If you accept the charge, my son will put it into your pocket." He answered only by slackening his pace, and the necklace was transferred to this man, almost in sight of military attend

ants. Before Las Cases quitted the island, he had the inexpressible satisfaction of knowing that the necklace had reached the hands of the emperor. How generous such a trait on the part of an enemy and this under such circumstances!—On returning to the after cabin, the emperor would sit down to play *vingt et un*, but generally retired in half an hour.

On passing the line, where seamen and others, if strangers, are christened, or otherwise ducked, the emperor was scrupulously respected during the whole of this saturnalian festivity, when regard is seldom paid to any one. In return for this consideration, the emperor ordered a hundred Napoleons to be distributed to the grotesque Neptune and his crew.

At length, about seventy days after the Northumberland's departure from England, the ship cast anchor at St. Helena, about noon on the 15th of October, 1815. The emperor, contrary to custom, dressed early, and went on deck to view the island.

The 16th of October terminated the voyage to St. Helena. After dining on board the Northumberland, the emperor, accompanied by the grand marshal, Bertrand, got into a boat to go ashore.

The emperor, before he stepped into the boat, sent for the captain of the ship, and took leave of him, desiring him, at the same time, to convey his thanks to the officers and crew. His words appeared to produce a great sensation on all by whom they were understood, or to whom they were interpreted. The remainder of the emperor's suite landed about eight o'clock. They were accompanied by several of the officers, and every one on board appeared to be sincerely affected at their departure.

Thus, in the course of a few weeks, the emperor of the west, the dispenser of crowns and sceptres, found himself immured for life in a small volcanic island, measuring ten miles in length and seven in breadth, at a distance of six thousand miles from the scenes of his immortal exploits in arms, and separated from the two great continents of Africa and America by unfathomable seas.

Count Las Cases found the emperor in the apartment assigned to him. A few minutes after their arrival, he went up stairs to his chamber where his followers were called to attend him. His situation here was no better than it had been on board the vessel. They found themselves lodged in a sort of inn, or hotel.

At six in the morning, the day after, the emperor, the grand marshal, and the admiral, rode to visit Longwood, the house chosen for Napoleon's residence. Napoleon was extremely unwilling to return to the place where he had passed the preceding night, as the sentinels who guarded his doors, and the crowds that curiosity had attracted beneath his windows, were very disagreeable. A small pavilion attached to the place, however, pleased him, and Admiral Cockburn thought he would be more agreeably situated there than in the town. The pavilion, or summer-house, which Napoleon had chosen, was about thirty or forty paces from Mr. Balcombe's dwelling-house, called *the Briars*; and here the family used to retire, in fine weather, to take tea and amuse themselves. In no situation of his past life had the emperor been so wretchedly lodged. The windows had neither curtains nor shutters, and there was scarcely a seat in the room. Whilst the two valets-de-chambre were bustling

about to prepare Napoleon's bed, he took a fancy to walk out a little, but there was no level ground on any side of the pavilion. Las Cases's bed-room, above his, was about seven feet square; there was in it only a bed and a single chair. Young Las Cases had a mattress spread on the floor, and Napoleon's valets slept on the ground at his door, wrapped up in their cloaks. Such was the situation of the emperor the first night he passed at the Briars.

At first, Napoleon's dinner was sent him, ready cooked, from James Town, about a mile and a half distant; but afterwards Mr. Balcombe found means to get a kitchen fitted up for his use.

Mr. Balcombe's family consisted of his wife, two daughters, one about twelve and the other fifteen years of age, and two boys of five or six. The young ladies spoke French fluently, and Napoleon frequently dropped in to play a rubber of whist, or hold a little *conversazione*. On one occasion, he indulged them by participating in a game of blind-man's-buff, very much to the amusement of the young ladies. Nothing was left undone, by this worthy family, that could contribute to lessen the inconveniences of his situation.

He occasionally received some visitors, who came to pay their respects to him on the lawn before the house; and, in a few instances, some, who had received that permission, were presented to him when at Mr. Balcombe's in the evening. He frequently walked, for hours, in the shady paths and shrubberies of the Briars, where care was taken to prevent his being intruded upon. During one of the walks, he stopped, and pointed out to an Englishman the frightful precipices which environed them, and said, "Be



hold your country's generosity ! *this* is their liberality to the unfortunate man, who, blindly relying on what he so falsely imagined to be their national character, in an evil hour, unsuspectingly confided himself to them. I once thought that you were free ! now see that your ministers laugh at your laws, which are, like those of other nations, formed only to oppress the defenceless, and screen the powerful, whenever your government has any object in view."

By Napoleon's subsequent removal to the house at Longwood, his situation was by no means improved. His bed-room here was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering paper, and destitute of surbase. Two small windows, without pulleys, looked towards the camp of the 53d regiment, one of which was thrown up, and fastened by a piece of notched wood. There were window-curtains of white long-cloth, a small fire-place, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantel-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantel-piece hung the portrait of Marie Louise, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of the mother. A little more to the right hung also a miniature picture of the empress Josephine ; and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederic the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam ; while on the right the consular watch, engraved with the cipher B, hung, by a chain of the plaited hair of Marie Louise, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet, which had once decorated the dining-room of :

lieutenant of the St. Helena artillery. In the right hand corner was placed the little, plain, iron camp bedstead, with green silk curtains, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers; and an old book-case, with green blinds, stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs, painted green, were standing here and there about the room. Before the back door, there was a screen covered with nankeen, and, between that and the fire-place, an old-fashioned sofa, covered with white long-cloth, upon which reclined Napoleon, clothed in his white morning-gown, white loose trowsers and stockings all in one; a chequered red madras upon his head, and his shirt collar open, without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table with some books, at the foot of which lay in confusion, upon the carpet, a heap of those he had already perused; and at the foot of the sofa, facing him, was suspended a portrait of the empress Marie Louise, with her son in her arms. In front of the fire-place stood Las Cases, with his arms folded over his breast, and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty emperor of France, nothing was present except a superb wash-hand stand, containing a silver basin, and a watering of the same metal, in the left-hand corner.

Napoleon's hours of rising were uncertain, much depending upon the quantum of rest he had enjoyed during the night. He was, in general, a bad sleeper, and frequently got up at three or four o'clock; in which case he read or wrote till six or

seven ; at which time, when the weather was fine, he sometimes went out to ride, attended by some of his generals, or laid down again to rest for a couple of hours. When he retired to bed, he could not sleep unless the most perfect state of darkness was obtained, by the closure of every cranny, through which a ray of light might pass ; although he was sometimes seen to fall asleep on the sofa, and remain so for a few minutes in broad day-light. When ill, Marchand occasionally read to him until he fell asleep. At times he rose at seven, and wrote or dictated until breakfast-time ; or, if the morning was very fine, he went out to ride. When he took breakfast in his own room, it was generally served on a little round table, at between nine and ten ; when along with the rest of his suite, at eleven : in either case, *à la fourchette*. After breakfast, he generally dictated to some of his suite for a few hours, and at two or three o'clock, received such visitors as, by previous appointment, had been directed to present themselves. Between four and five, when the weather permitted, he rode out on horseback, or in the carriage, accompanied by all his suite, for an hour or two ; then returned, and dictated or read until eight, or occasionally played a game at chess ; at which time dinner was announced, which rarely exceeded twenty minutes, or half an hour, in duration. He ate heartily and fast, and did not appear to be partial to high-seasoned or rich food. One of his most favourite dishes was a roasted leg of mutton, of which he sometimes pared the outside brown part off ; he was also partial to mutton chops. He rarely drank as much as a pint of claret at his dinner which was generally much diluted with

water. After dinner, when the servants had withdrawn, and when there were no visitors, he sometimes played at chess, or at whist; but more frequently sent for a volume of Corneille, or of some other esteemed author, and read aloud for an hour, or chatted with the ladies and the rest of his suite. He usually retired to his bed-room at ten or eleven, and to rest immediately afterwards. When he breakfasted or dined in private, in his own apartment, he sometimes sent for one of his suite, to converse with him during the repast. He never ate more than two meals a day, nor ever took more than a very small cup of coffee after each repast, and at no other time.

"While dressing, he is attended by Marchand, St. Denis, and Novarre. One of them holds a looking-glass before him, and the other the necessary implements for shaving, while Marchand is in waiting to hand his clothes, *eau de Cologne*, &c. When he has gone over one side of his face with a razor, he asks St. Denis or Novarre, 'Is it done?' and, after receiving an answer, commences on the other. After he has finished, the glass is held before him to the light, and he examines whether he has removed every portion of his beard. If he perceives or feels that any remains, he sometimes lays hold of one of his attendants by the ear, or gives him a gentle slap on the cheek, in a good-humoured manner, crying, 'Ah, *coquin*, why did you tell me it was done?' This, probably, has given rise to the report of his having been in the habit of beating and otherwise ill-treating his domestics. He then washes with water, in which some *eau de Cologne* has been mingled, a little of which he also sprinkles over his person, very carefully picks and

cleans his teeth, frequently has himself rubbed with a flesh-brush, changes his linen and flannel waist coat, and dresses in white kerseymere or brown nankeen breeches, white waistcoat, silk stockings, shoes, and gold buckles, and a green single-breasted coat, with white buttons, black stock, with none of the white shirt collar appearing above it, and a three-cornered small cocked hat, with a little tri coloured cockade. When dressed, he always wears the cordon and grand cross of the legion of honour. When he has put on his coat, a little *bon bonnière*, his snuff-box, and handkerchief scented with *eau de Cologne*, are handed to him by Marchand, and he leaves the chamber."

In 1817, the numerous loose and contradictory reports, that had been circulated about the ill-treatment Napoleon Bonaparte received, were confirmed, in a manner beyond doubt or contradiction, by a kind of official communication brought to England by M. Santini, one of Napoleon's suite.

M. Santini affirmed, that, in the course of the year 1816, the emperor was compelled to sell all his plate to procure the first necessities of life. M. Santini broke it in pieces before it was sent to the market. The produce was deposited, by order of the governor, in the hands of Mr. Balcombe. When the house-steward, wishing to supply the deficiency of the provisions furnished by the governor, made purchases himself, (which happened every day,) he could only pay them by orders upon Mr. Balcombe. When M. Santini did not succeed in shooting a few pigeons in the neighbourhood of their dwelling, the emperor frequently had nothing for breakfast. Provisions did not reach Longwood until two or three o'clock in the afternoon

There was no water fit for cooking at Longwood. Very good water might, however, have been procured at a distance of 1200 yards, and conveyed to the emperor's barracks at an expense of from 12 to 1500 francs. The house was only supplied by the water brought from this fountain: it was open only once during the day; at all other times it was locked. It was guarded by an English officer, who was scarcely ever present when water was wanted. There was a conduit for conveying water to the English camp; but it was thought unnecessary to do as much for the unfortunate Napoleon.—M. Santini was also the bearer of a letter, or memorial, written to Sir Hudson Lowe by Count Montholon, in the name of Napoleon, in which, besides protesting against the right of England to detain him a prisoner at St. Helena, he confirms the reports of his ill treatment there, and states other particulars before unknown.

Though the delicacy of Count Las Cases prevented him from mentioning to Sir Hudson Lowe the illegal misapplication of the wearing apparel and other necessities, conveyed from England to St. Helena for the express use of Napoleon, it has been solemnly asserted, that various articles of furniture, and other necessities, sent out from that country, at the public expense, for the residents at Longwood, not even excepting the shirts made for the personal wear of Napoleon, were appropriated to the use of persons for whom they were never intended.

Immediately after Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival in the island, the scanty supply of fresh butter was discontinued, which, till then, had been sent to Longwood; the milk from which it was produced

being thenceforward taken to Plantation House. The flour was so bad, that Napoleon did not taste bread for three months. He betook himself to a sedentary life; his legs began to swell, and the scurvy attacked his gums. He declared that an intention existed to terminate his life by agonies so protracted, as to make it appear that he died a natural death.

The Cæsar, which brought Lord Amherst over from China in 1817, having occasion to touch at St. Helena, his lordship expressed his desire to be introduced to Napoleon, and, in spite of some obstacles, he was allowed to wait upon him, accompanied by Mr Lynn, surgeon of the *Alceste*. On the 3d of July, Lord Amherst was ushered into Bonaparte's presence at Longwood, whilst Captain Maxwell and the surgeon waited in an ante-chamber. It was not long before these officers were desired to join. In his conversation with the party, his questions were put with his usual rapidity; indeed, they followed each other in such quick succession, that answers could only be given to those which appeared most marked and important. With his general curiosity, Bonaparte inquired of the officers what stations they filled on board the ship; and, on learning Mr. Lynn was the surgeon, he asked what system of physic he pursued. "That depends upon circumstances," replied the surgeon. "I hope," rejoined Bonaparte, "it is any other than that practised on this island; for here we have the same thing over and over again—bleeding and calomel for ever."

The conversation taking a turn on the mission of Lord Amherst to China, his lordship related the cause of its failure, which he ascribed to the necessity im

posed upon him by the emperor, of smiting the ground nine times with his forehead; an indignity which his lordship intimated could not be submitted to. Here Bonaparte's answer showed the man—"Indeed! Now, had it suited my policy to send an ambassador to the emperor of China, I should have instructed him to kiss his great toe; and, if that would not do, he might, if required, have saluted a more offensive part, provided my object could be attained."—In the course of conversation, Bonaparte said he knew of no law which gave the powers of Europe the right of detaining him a prisoner at St. Helena or elsewhere; and strongly urged the propriety of his present situation being taken into consideration by the crowned heads of Europe. Notwithstanding his disappointments, he still affected great reliance on the justice of the prince regent of England, when unconnected with national policy, and the influence of ministers; and, with this impression on his mind, he expressed an anxious wish that Lord Amherst would be the bearer of a letter from him to his royal highness, which had been prepared some time, with the intention of forwarding it to England.

The treatment which Napoleon experienced in the years 1817 and 1818 is detailed, with much simplicity, in the letters written by Count Bertrand to Count Las Cases.

"Things," said M. Bertrand, "are materially altered since your departure. In the year 1817, and this of 1818, the vexations practised against the emperor are increased to that degree, that they can only be considered as an attempt upon his life. You shall judge of this by the detail. You cannot but have read, in the newspapers of the month of



March, certain observations of Lord Bathurst's ; but since then, things have got much worse, and the hatred of the governor has no longer had any limits.

"When you left us, the emperor gave up riding on horseback, to avoid the snares and the insults prepared for him, by exposing him to the insolence of the sentinels ; to avoid similar inconveniences, he has been since obliged to debar himself even from the exercise of walking. During the months of March and April, the emperor occasionally went out to call on my wife, and sometimes, too, he used to seat himself fifty paces from the house, upon the bench near it, where he would remain half an hour or an hour : they devised means to prevent this, and to oblige him to confine himself closely to his room. They were aware that was no difficult task. They appointed a soldier of the 66th for the gardener, and they stationed at my house a sergeant, or overseer of the workmen, both very useful at the house, either to remove any noxious weeds which might infect the air, (for it is an impossibility to have a garden on such a spot as this,) or to repair the house, which is in ruins, and admits the water upon every shower. All this appeared very reasonable ; but the governor invested these two soldiers with the power of stopping whomsoever they pleased, at the very doors and under the windows of the emperor. From that moment he has never been out, and it is now upwards of three months since he has put his head out of the windows.

"The climate, an entire deprivation of exercise and this miserable habitation, have impaired his health so much, that you would not know him

again. Ever since the end of 1817, he has felt the first symptoms of the chronic hepatitis, which, you are aware, is mortal in this country. The good O'Meara attended him, in whom, you know he had confidence. Sir Hudson Lowe, in the month of April, when this doctor was most necessary to him, reduced him to the necessity of giving in his resignation, and wanted to foist Mr. Baxter upon the emperor, who, refusing to see any other medical attendant, was without a doctor from the 10th of April to the 10th of May. At last, the Russian and Austrian commissioners here, being indignant at this treatment, gave the governor to understand, that, if the emperor should die in that situation, they themselves would be at a loss what to say, if the opinion should prevail in Europe that he had been assassinated. It appears this decided the governor to reinstate Dr. O'Meara; but there was no species of ill-treatment they did not make him suffer. They wanted to get him driven from the table of the officers of the 66th, but these brave soldiers disdained to participate in so arbitrary an act. The emperor is now very ill: he rises at eleven in the morning, and retires again at two. You are not aware of the situation we are in now; it can in no instance be compared with our situation in your time, and even then it was bad enough; and you sufficiently know our master, to induce you to use your influence to prevent any of the emperor's family from coming out here. The spectacle of the humiliations, the vexations, the hatred he is a prey to, would be utterly insupportable, were his mother, or any of his brothers, to come and share them. Even Count de Montholon and myself, who are now the only persons with

him, have been repeatedly pressed by him to go and release ourselves from the like treatment, and to leave him to himself. You remember the officers had not visited me for a long time; but, when ever they met us on the road, they had the civility to stop and speak with my wife. They have now been forbidden to do that, not in writing, but by insinuation; so that it has frequently happened that these officers, on perceiving us, have turned out of the way."

The following note was written by Napoleon in the margin of a letter from Sir Thomas Read to Count Bertrand, dated 25th April, 1818:—

"1. I gave you to understand yesterday, when you presented this letter to me, that I would not condescend to notice it; and that you need not translate it to me, since it is not in the form which has been observed for three years.

"2. This fresh outrage only dishonours this coxcomb. The king of England alone is entitled to treat with me upon an equality.

"3. This crafty proceeding has one object—to prevent your exposing the criminal plot they have been contriving against my life for these two years past.

"4. Thus it is, that, affecting to open the doors to claims and complaints, they shut them the closer.

"5. Thus it is, that affecting a willingness to provide me a lodging, and build a house for me, I have been kept for three years in this unhealthy barn, and no building has yet been commenced.

"6. Thus it is, that, affecting to allow me the liberty of riding on horseback, they prevent me from so doing, and from taking exercise, by indirect means. Hence the primary cause of my illness

" 7. They employ the same means to debar me from receiving any visits. They have need of obscurity.

" 8. Thus it is, that, after having made attempts upon my physician, having forced him to give in his resignation, rather than remain a passive instrument, void of all moral feeling, they nevertheless keep him under arrest at Longwood, wishing it to be believed that I have his assistance, when they well know I cannot see him, that I have not seen him for a fortnight, and that I never shall see him, unless he be set at liberty, relieved from his oppressive situation, and restored to his moral independence in what concerns the exercise of his functions.

" 9. Thus it is they are guilty of a characteristic falsehood, in causing bulletins to be issued by a physician who has never seen me, and who is ignorant both of my constitution and my disorder; but that is well calculated to deceive the prince and people of England and Europe.

" 10. They indulge in a ferocious smile at the fresh sufferings this deprivation of the assistance of art adds to this tedious agony.

" 11. Desire this note to be sent to Lord Liverpool, and also your letter of yesterday, with those of the 13th and 24th of April, that the prince regent may know who my ——— is, and be able to publicly punish him.

" 12. If he does not, I bequeath the opprobrium of my death to the reigning house of England.

(Signed)

" NAPOLEON.

*' Longwood 27th April, 1818.'*

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Dismissal of Count Las Cases from Longwood—Letter of Prince Lucien Bonaparte intercepted by Sir Hudson Lowe—Napoleon's Apprehensions for the Fate of his Manuscripts—his Reflections upon the Governor—Decline of Napoleon's Health—Etiquette observed by his Attendants—Remarks on his bodily Constitution—his Mode of preserving Health—Testimony of Dr. Arnott—Progress of his Disease—his Death—his Interment—Remarks upon his Character.*

ONE of the most mortifying inconveniences, inflicted upon Napoleon by Sir Hudson Lowe, appears to have been the removal of Count Las Cases from the emperor's service at the latter end of the year 1816. Ever since the count had attended him at Longwood, he kept, as a servant, a free mulatto. After some months had elapsed, Sir Hudson Lowe expressed his doubts as to the propriety of the count's being attended by a native of the island, and signified his intention of removing this servant, and sending one of his own choosing: the latter proposal was promptly and decidedly rejected; but the man was withdrawn.

Some months after this, the mulatto, who still remained in the island, found an opportunity of visiting his old master's residence: being favoured by the darkness of the night, and his knowledge of the localities of the island, he had surmounted every obstacle, avoided sentinels, and scaled precipices, to come and see the count, in order to tell him that he had got a situation with a person who was going to set off for London in a few days, and to offer him his services without reserve. Not seeing the count the first time he came, he returned the next

evening, and renewed the unreserved offer of his services, saying he would take charge of any thing that might be intrusted to him, and would call for it on the eve of his sailing. Accordingly, a letter was written upon a piece of satin, to Prince Lucien Bonaparte, which the young mulatto, having some knowledge of the business of a tailor, sewed into his clothes, and took his leave. Las Cases went to bed with a light heart, and a feeling of satisfaction from the contemplation of a day well employed, and marked by a fortunate event, little thinking that he had just cut, with his own hands, the thread of his destiny at Longwood, from which, in less than twenty-four hours, he was snatched away, never to return. The bearer of the letter, it is supposed, confided the affair to his mother, who could not conceal it from her husband, by which publicity it came to the ears of Sir Hudson Lowe, who issued his orders accordingly.

Napoleon was frequently under great apprehensions for the fate of his manuscripts : this was occasioned by the treatment which Las Cases had suffered from Sir Hudson Lowe, and the detention of his own papers. He said "it was contrary to all law, to detain papers belonging to him (Napoleon). Perhaps," said he, "he will come up here some day, and say that he has received intimation that a plot is in agitation to effect my escape. What guarantee have I, that, when I have nearly finished my history, he will not seize the whole of it? It is true that I can keep my manuscripts in my own room, and, with a couple of brace of pistols, I can despatch the first who enters. I must burn the whole of what I have written. It served as an amusement to me in this dismal abode, and might

perhaps, have been interesting to the world but with this *Shirro-Siciliano* there is no guarantee nor security. He violates every law, and tramples decency, politeness, and the common forms of society, under foot. He came up (here to Longwood) with a savage joy beaming from his eyes, because he had an opportunity of insulting and tormenting us. While surrounding the house with his staff, he reminded me of the savages of the South Sea islands dancing round the prisoners whom they were about to devour."

While looking over a number of papers, (chiefly Portsmouth,) "Ah!" said Napoleon, "some of my money has gone to pay for these estates. After the abdication at Fontainebleau, upwards of forty millions of francs, my private property, was seized, and taken from my treasurer at Orleans. Of this money, about five and twenty millions were divided amongst T\*\*\*, M\*\*, and C\*\*. The money thus seized included the marriage-portion of the empress Marie Louise, which had been paid in sovereigns of gold—an old German coin. The remainder was placed in the French treasury. The whole of these sums had been guaranteed to me by the treaty of Fontainebleau. The share which C\*\* obtained was very large, and the exact amount of it is known to me."

The health of Napoleon, during the six months preceding his establishment at Longwood, did not seem to undergo any change, notwithstanding his regimen was so completely altered. Neither his hours nor his food were any longer the same; his former habits, in fact, were totally deranged. Formerly he had been used to much exercise; but now, he had been long confined to a room. He

had been continually in the habit of bathing ; but for this indulgence he had no opportunity till after his arrival at Longwood. Here, when he began to ride on horseback, and returned to the use of the bath, his attendants first began to perceive a sensible alteration in his health.

In the autumn of 1817, he had a smart attack of fever, &c., and was several days obliged to retire occasionally to his bed. Whilst he was well, the etiquette observed by his attendants prevented any of them from entering his apartment without being sent for ; and if any thing of importance was to be communicated to him, he was previously made acquainted with it. If he walked separately with any of them, no other presumed to intrude. At first, his attendants constantly remained uncovered near his person, which appeared strange to the English, who had been ordered to put on their hats after the first salute. The contrast between them seemed ridiculous to Napoleon, and he ordered his servants, once for all, to behave like the English. No one, except the two ladies, took a seat in his presence. He was never spoken to but at his own peculiar instance, and when the conversation became general, which was always and in all cases under his own control and guidance. It is scarcely needful to add, that the long period of his declining health nearly put an end to the ceremonials previously observed.

Upon the score of the emperor's general health, M. Las Cases observes—"Contrary to the common opinion, in which I myself once participated, the emperor is far from possessing a strong constitution. His limbs are large, but his fibres are relaxed. With a very expanded chest, he is constantly labour



ing under the effects of cold. His body is subject to the influence of the slightest accidents. The smell of paint is sufficient to make him ill ; certain dishes, or the slightest degree of damp, immediately take a very severe effect upon him. His body is far from being a body of iron, as has been supposed ; all his strength is in his mind ; although no sovereign ever underwent so much bodily fatigue.

“The most remarkable instance of the emperor’s activity and exertion, was his ride, without stirrups, from Valladolid to Burgos, at the rate of more than seven Spanish leagues an hour, in five hours and a half. He had set out accompanied by a numerous escort, in case of danger from the guerillas ; but at every yard he left some of his attendants behind him, and arrived at Burgos with but few followers. His ride from Vienna to the Simmering, a distance of eighteen or twenty leagues, is frequently talked of. The emperor rode to breakfast to the Simmering, and returned to Vienna immediately after. He often hunted to the distance of thirty-eight leagues, and never less than fifteen. One day a Russian officer, who had come as a courier from St. Petersburg in the space of twelve or thirteen days, arrived at Fontainebleau at the moment the emperor was about to set out on a hunt. The officer had the honour to be invited to join the hunting party. He, of course, accepted the invitation ; but he dropped down in the forest, overcome by fatigue, and was not found until after a considerable search had been made for him.

“I have known the emperor,” continues Las Cases, “to be engaged in business in the council of state for eight or nine hours successively, and

afterwards rise with his ideas as clear as when he sat down. I have seen him, at St. Helena, peruse books for ten or twelve hours in succession, on the most abstruse subjects, without appearing the least fatigued. He has suffered, unmoved, the greatest shocks that ever man experienced. On his return from Moscow or Leipsig, after he had communicated the disastrous event in the council of state, he said, 'It has been reported in Paris, that this misfortune turned my hair gray ; but you see it is not so, (pointing to his head,) and I hope I shall be able to support many other reverses.' But these prodigious exertions were made only, as it were, in despite of his physical powers, which never appear less susceptible than when his mind is in full activity.

"The emperor eats very irregularly, but generally very little. He often says, that a man may hurt himself by eating too much, but never by eating too little. He will remain four-and-twenty hours without eating, only to get an appetite for the ensuing day. But, if he eats little, he drinks still less. A single glass of Madeira or Champagne is sufficient to restore his strength, and to produce cheerfulness of spirits. He sleeps very little, and very irregularly, generally rising at day-break to read or write, and afterwards lying down to sleep again. The emperor has no faith in medicine, and never takes any. He had adopted a peculiar mode of treatment for himself. Whenever he found himself unwell, his plan was to run into an extreme, the opposite of what happened to be his habit at the time. This he calls restoring the equilibrium of nature. For instance, if he had been inactive for a length of time, he would suddenly ride about

sixty miles, or hunt the whole day. If, on the contrary, he had been harassed by great fatigues, he would resign himself to absolute rest for twenty-four hours. These unexpected shocks, he thought, infallibly brought about an internal crisis, instantly producing the desired effect, and which as a remedy never failed."

He continues to remark, that "the emperor's lymphatic system was deranged, and that his blood circulated with difficulty. Nature," he says, "had endowed him with two important advantages; the one was the power of sleeping whenever he needed repose, at any hour or at any place; another was, that he was constitutionally incapable of committing any injurious excess, either in eating or in drinking." If he went the least beyond his mark, his stomach instantly revolted. Very slight causes would excite a nausea in him; and a mere tickling cough was sufficient to produce that disagreeable effect.

It appears from the testimony of Surgeon Arnott, of the 20th regiment, that no other English medical person saw him in his death-bed sickness, in April and May, 1821; for, although every medical aid the island of St. Helena afforded was offered by Sir Hudson Lowe, and recommended by Dr. Arnott when he observed the disease to put on alarming symptoms, Napoleon uniformly refused it, and even required from his attendants a promise that, in the event of his ever becoming insensible, no other medical person than Professor Antomarchi and Mr. Arnott should see him.

Before the latter visited Napoleon, he was consulted upon his case, on the 25th of March, 1821 by Professor Antomarchi, who stated, that his illness

rious patient had long been labouring under some great derangement of function in the digestive organs, characterized by nausea and vomiting, especially after taking food, very obstinate costiveness, and great wasting of flesh and strength. On the 17th of that month, he had a febrile attack; and, though an emetic had been administered with cathartics and antimonials in small doses, the symptoms, on the 25th, were still urgent, viz. increased heat, great prostration of strength, pain in the epigastric region, most distressing vomiting, and constipated bowels.

On the evening of the 1st of April, at half-past ten o'clock, Professor Antomarchi called on Dr. Arnott, saying he had just come from the emperor, who wished to see him directly. He accordingly accompanied M. Antomarchi, and was led by him through a labyrinth of passages and rooms dimly lighted. When they reached Napoleon's bed-room, there was no light whatever in it; it was perfectly dark. Count Montholon, whose voice was known, met Dr. Arnott at the door, and led him up to Napoleon's bed-side, and introduced him. He inquired into the emperor's complaints, but could not see him, as he would not permit a light to be brought. His pulse being felt by Dr. Arnott, he found it tranquil, heat moderate, and the moisture on the skin rather more than natural. He complained much of his belly, which was examined; but it was without tension or hardness: the bowels were slow, and the appetite bad. His voice was strong, and he had some cough. Several severe fits of vomiting followed, notwithstanding some purgative medicines had occasionally given him much relief. What he vomited on the night of

The 11th of April was a black, mucous matter. After this he became quite exhausted, and signified to Dr. Arnott that medical aid could be of no avail to him, and that he was labouring under a fatal disease. At the doctor's request, he took a little jelly and warm wine, which rested on his stomach. Napoleon asked the doctor, on the same day, how a person died of debility, and how long one could live, eating as little as he did.

In fact, he continued alternately better and worse till the hickuping attacked him at the latter end of April; after this there was an aggravation of all the symptoms. At length, on the 4th of May, there was a total loss of muscular motion; the under jaw had dropped, the eyes were fixed, and the pulse varied from 102 to 110 in the minute, was small and weak, and was easily compressed.

That nothing should be left undone, although the patient was *moribundus*, (dying,) sinapisms were applied to the feet, blisters to the legs, and one to the *sternum*, but none of them took effect; and all the symptoms increased till eleven minutes before six o'clock, in the evening of the 21st of May, 1821, when he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age. His dissolution was so calm and serene, that not a sigh escaped him, nor any intimation to his attendants that it was so near.

The last words he is known to have uttered were "*tete armée*." What their connexion in his mind was, could not be ascertained; but they were distinctly heard about five o'clock in the morning of the day he died. His countenance after death was described as placid and serene, and as having in it something very commanding and noble.

On opening the body, and exposing the stomach

that organ was found the seat of extensive disease. Nearly the whole of its internal surface was a mass of cancerous disease, or schirrous portions advancing to cancer. The stomach was found nearly filled with a large quantity of fluid, resembling coffee-grounds, or a black, grumous matter, mixed with some small specks of blood, which he had been in the habit of vomiting. The remainder of the abdominal viscera were in a healthy state.

The proposed conveyance of the remains of Napoleon to Europe was overruled, but they were permitted to rest in a beautiful valley, under the pendant branches of several flourishing weeping willows, near his favourite spring, and not far distant from the place of his residence.

The funeral was attended with as much of "the pomp and circumstance of war," as the place where he died would admit of. His coffin was carried by grenadiers. Counts Montholon and Bertrand were pall-bearers. Madame Bertrand followed with her family. Next came Lady Lowe and her daughters in deep mourning; then the junior officers of the navy, and the army staff. Lastly, Sir Hudson Lowe and the admiral closed the procession. The 20th and 66th regiments, with arms reversed, with the artillery, volunteers and marines, amounting to about 3000, were stationed on the surrounding hills, about half way up. The body having been lowered into the grave, three rounds of eleven guns were fired by the artillery.

The grave is ten feet long, ten deep, and five wide. The bottom is a solid rock; the sides and ends are walled in with Portland stone; the top of the grave is elevated about eight inches above the surface of the ground, and covered over with

three rough slate stones, taken from the kitchen floor of the new house, that had been constructed for his residence. The tomb was railed round with green railing, and a sentinel walked round it day and night, to prevent the too near approach of any person. There was no inscription upon the tomb. Persons, however, contrive to pluck the leaves of the willows that grow over it, some of which have been carried to England, and preserved as sacred relics.

The cemetery of Napoleon, it has been observed, is singularly adapted to the character of the individual there buried—a vast rock rising out of the ocean, alone, towering, unshaken, and magnificent; a perfect emblem of the genius of the man, such as he must appear in future history.

Though some attempts at comparison have been made, in order to illustrate the character of Napoleon, yet, upon mature and impartial reflection, we cannot find one in the records of history to whom we can liken him. The greatest resemblances are to be found in the examples of Hannibal and Cæsar. He was as prompt as Hannibal, as decided as Cæsar, and, like the Roman warrior, he has written his own immortal commentaries; and he was as brave and more generous than either. He commenced his military career as a lieutenant of engineers; he reduced the chaos of the French revolution to order, assuaged the bloody fury of the parties in the interior of France, and fought her battles when she was assailed by a combination of kings. He conquered the enemies of his country, and victory succeeded to victory, till he was dignified with the consulate, and left the great Moreau only admiration and applause Under Na

poleon, it cannot be denied, the arts flourished, and merit emerged from degradation and obscurity and he seemed to be one of those men intended by fate to exalt the human character to the highest pitch of grandeur and sublimity. He united in himself all those qualities, which we reverence and admire even in an enemy. As a soldier and conqueror, he had no equal: Fortune, for a considerable time, continued to shape events to his will; and contradictions the most apparent yielded to his genius; but at last, as if jealous of the way in which he used her favours, she made him feel her power, and hurled him, as it were, from a throne to a prison.

It is not true, that he was devoid of social qualities, or insensible to pleasure; his attendants, and the companions of his captivity, both English and French, were living witnesses of the contrary. Numerous anecdotes, that cannot be questioned, exhibit him as capable of the finest and best feelings of human nature, and will remain the most lasting testimonies of his kindness and generosity, especially during the period of his dreadful exile in St. Helena. Never was a master so loved and adored, even by his followers and attendants, whose sufferings, on his account, were nearly equal to his own. Never did any monarch attract so many friends, known and unknown, and who would have willingly shed their blood for his sake.

But his greatness was obscured by his ambition, and his love of absolute power. He owned "he had been the spoiled child of fortune. From his first entrance into life, he had been accustomed to command, and circumstances and the force of his own character were such, that, as soon as he became



possessed of power, he acknowledged no master and obeyed no laws except those of his own creation."

The love, or rather the necessity of war, was so deeply rooted in the breast of France, when Napoleon came into power, that his first and last attempts were all directed to the perfection and completion of its art. The tactics that he followed were new to Europe, and singularly his own. Despatch, surprise, and promptitude, were their prominent features. Schools were every where formed to train his youth to travail and to labour; to mathematics and to gunnery; schools of swimming, engineering: in fine, schools of every nature that could mould the growing man to arms, to labour and fatigue, were all erected and endowed by him; whilst hospitals were enriched and considerably enlarged, in every department, to aid his sick or disabled warriors. Hence their patience under privations almost unheard of; and hence they frequently died glorying in the wounds inflicted by a valiant or defeated enemy.

After his career of victory, distinctions of rank began to multiply, and scarcely a trace was left of *revolutionary liberty and equality*. The vast fabric which Napoleon had raised, he saw, could only be maintained by success; and that the loss of a single battle might become the signal for revolution, or for deserting him, as the event has proved. Repeated victories, however, could not satisfy his insatiable appetite for glory. He never foresaw any reverses, or, if he did, he never made any provision against them. He depended too much upon his "high destinies" and tributary kings; he expected too much from his newly-created marshals

These kings felt themselves as only instruments in his hands ; and the marshals saw no end to his arduous campaigns. Notwithstanding the immense height to which France was raised during his imperial sway, and the rapid succession of his splendid victories, there was at length much disaffection at heart, though latent, and unperceived. The Jacobins, sworn enemies to crowned heads, were always numerous, and many of them powerful. The empress Josephine well knew this, and, by the distribution of 400,000*l.* a year, contributed to keep down the unruly spirits. Her manners conciliated and her bounty relieved ; her conduct and her address changed even her husband's enemies into friends. But, from the moment that the empress Marie Louise occupied her place, she ceased in this work of peace, and Napoleon soon found, that, on venturing upon this connexion, he had approached a dangerous precipice, the brink of which had only been concealed by a bed of flowers.

“Cradled in the camp, however, he was, to the last hour, the darling of the army. Of all his soldiers, not one forsook him till affection was useless ; and, even then, their first stipulation was for his safety. They knew well, that, if he was lavish of them, he was prodigal of himself ; and that, if he exposed them to peril, he repaid them with riches. The victorious veteran glittered with his gains, and the capital of France, gorgeous with the spoils of art, became the miniature metropolis of the universe.”

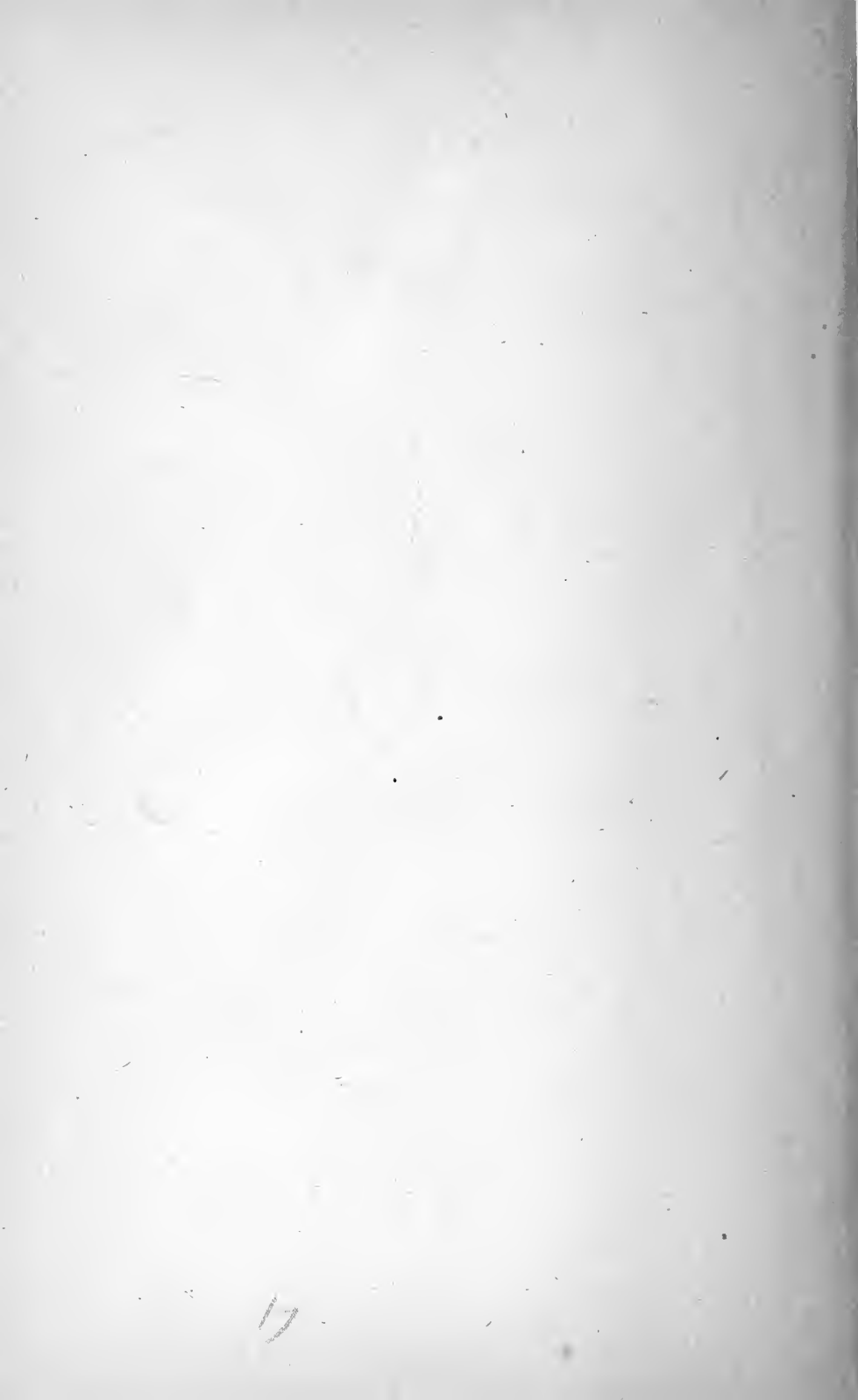
But he is no more ; and nothing but a simple stone marks the place that contains all that is earthly of Napoleon Bonaparte. His remains were

not allowed to be transmitted to Europe, as if it had been believed, that

“Even in his ashes glowed their wonted fires.”

*Table of some of the principal Events in the History of Napoleon, from his Birth to his Decease.*

Born . . . . .	Aug. 15,	1769
Entered the Military School of Brienne . . .		1779
Transferred to the School of Paris . . . .		1783
Lieutenant in the first artillery reg- iment of la Fère . . . . .	} Sept. 1,	1785
Captain . . . . .		
Chief of battalion . . . . .	Oct. 19,	1793
General of brigade . . . . .	Feb. 6,	1794
General of division . . . . .	Oct. 16,	1795
General-in-chief of the army of the interior . . . . .	} Oct. 26,	1795
General-in-chief of the army of Italy		
First consul . . . . .	Feb. 23,	1796
First consul . . . . .	Dec. 13,	1799
Consul for life . . . . .	Aug. 2,	1802
Emperor . . . . .	May 18,	1804
Crowned . . . . .	Dec. 2,	1804
Invaded Russia . . . . .	June 22,	1812
First abdication at Fontainebleau .	April 11,	1814
Resumed the reins of government .	March 20,	1815
Second abdication at l'Elysée .	June 21,	1815
Departed for St. Helena . . .	Aug. 7,	1815
Deceased in that island . . .	May 5,	1821









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